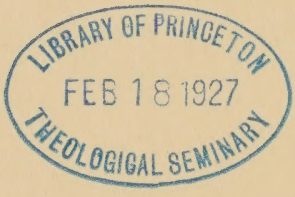

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Papers and Addresses

BY

ERNEST DEWITT BURTON

President of The University of Chicago
1923–25

EDITED BY

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The University of Chicago

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Prophet of God, in quest of the uttermost, long have you searched the distances for your ship.

And now your ship has come, and you must needs go. . . . .

Yet this we ask ere you leave us, that you speak to us and give us of your truth.

And we will give it unto our children, and they unto their children, and it shall not perish. . . . .

You have been told that life is darkness, and in your weariness you echo what was said by the weary.

And I say that life is indeed darkness save when there is urge,

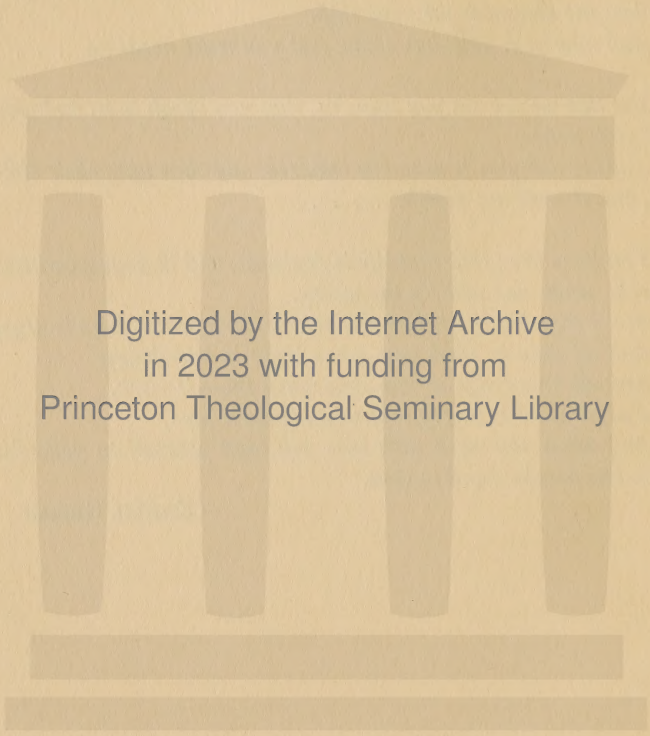
And all urge is blind save when there is knowledge,

And all knowledge is vain save when there is work,

And all work is empty save when there is love;

And when you work with love you bind yourself to yourself, and to one another, and to God.

—KAHLIL GIBRAN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EDITOR'S PREFACE

DURING four decades full of exacting research Ernest DeWitt Burton built up an international reputation for technical scholarship in the New Testament field. Then, in a short two years of unbelievable activity as President of the University of Chicago, he achieved a phenomenal reputation as an educational executive.

But there was another Dr. Burton, not less great though perhaps less widely known, who spoke in occasional public addresses throughout his career. That was Dr. Burton the Christian, the man of deep religious experience and conviction. Many of his utterances on religious themes were so significant as to be worthy of preservation in permanent form. The present volume is a collection of these fugitive but valuable papers. Comprehensively it exhibits the amazing range of Dr. Burton's religious interests and activities.

The leading address of Part I was his *apologia pro vita sua,* in which he isolated those elements in Christianity that most commended themselves to his own experience. There follows a series of studies devoted to the religion of Jesus and the Christianity of Paul. These essays are arranged in chronological sequence in the order of their publication—an arrangement that gives an added interest to the essays themselves because it serves to show the steady development through a quarter-century of the author's thought concerning important phases of Christianity. A lecture on "Jesus and Paul," delivered at the very close of Professor Burton's teaching career, appropriately concludes the series.

In Part II are assembled the papers dealing more specifically with the practical application of Christian principles to

present-day problems. These papers relate variously to theological education, to international ethics, and to Christian education in mission fields. Thus the collection as a whole exhibits in sequence the development of Dr. Burton's major religious interests; the interest in personal religion fed by his New Testament studies, the interest in theological education growing out of his teaching experience, the interest in international problems stimulated by foreign travel and notably by the war, and his enthusiasm for missionary enterprise that culminated in the work of two educational commissions to the Orient.

The fewest possible editorial changes have been admitted to the text. On the advice of Miss Margaret Burton, certain excisions were made from the articles written during the war years. The omitted material had real point at the time it was written, but through change of conditions it later lost the quality of timeliness. In fairness to Dr. Burton it should be noted that while some of the chapters were published during his lifetime and so received the benefit of revision by his own hand, others were only occasional talks or addresses, not prepared or intended for publication. This accounts for the more informal diction of the unpublished addresses and for the fact that they show comparatively less finish in style and arrangement.

A peculiarity of Dr. Burton's literary style that has been allowed to remain is its enumerative character. It was his practice to accentuate the steady advance of his thought by means of numerals, Arabic or Roman. These have been reproduced as concrete illustrations of the orderliness of his thought processes.

The editor alone is in a position to realize the extent of his indebtedness to Dr. Burton's many friends in the preparation of this volume. In particular he would make grateful ac-

knowledgment to Miss Margaret Burton for gracious and painstaking co-operation in the task of editing; to Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed for the initial impetus that led to the assembling of the material; to Dr. T. W. Goodspeed for making important addresses available; and to Rev. Charles W. Gilkey for reading the manuscript of the volume and preparing for it a fitting introduction.

H. R. W.

The Weirs, New Hampshire
July 20, 1926

INTRODUCTION

THE SIXTEEN papers and addresses now collected in this volume were first published or delivered all the way from 1897 to 1925, and cover therefore considerably more than the latter half of Dr. Burton's mature and active life. To those of us who have long looked to him, not only as one of the foremost of American theological scholars, but no less as one of the most eminent of the missionary and educational leaders of his generation, this collection has a double value. It shows us some of the great issues with which American Christianity has been grappling during one of the most critical and complicated quarter-centuries in its history, as these issues appeared to one of its most luminous minds and generous hearts. In that sense it shows us modern religious history in the making.

Even more valuable to Dr. Burton's students and friends, however, will be the revealing glimpse which these papers afford into the inner processes of his own mind and soul as they developed to their full stature and power. They show us a great modern Christian in the making: not so vividly perhaps as would a biography; but authentically at least, because both the thought and the utterance are all his own.

Dr. Burton's characteristic qualities as a historical student and theological teacher stand out upon every page of the New Testament studies that to some of us who never had the chance to sit in his classroom will perhaps be the most alluring and oft-consulted portions of this volume. The fearless determination to find and face the actual facts in the case and to follow them whithersoever they lead; the "constant and final appeal . . . . to *reality*" which he calls "the

most fundamental characteristic of Jesus' thinking"; the patient and steady objectivity of analysis and perspective which made many of us seek and value his judgment on any given problem more than that of any man we know—these characteristics of his scholarship, appearing so plainly in the brief compass and generalized conclusions of these articles, will attract and encourage many serious students of the Bible to take up the larger volumes, like the *Commentary on Galatians,* that gather up the fuller results of his own lifelong study of the New Testament.

It has been well said by one of Dr. Burton's most intimate associates that perhaps his most remarkable characteristic was the perfect union in him of the scholar's impartial pursuit of truth with the contagious enthusiasm of the genuinely religious man. He was never afraid to follow his intellect anywhere on the trail of truth; but on that same trail his soul never ceased to glow with creative conviction as to the importance for life of what he found. That rare combination of utter honesty and inward warmth appears throughout this volume, notably in its first and last papers, and gives to his treatment of widely various subjects an inner unity characteristic of Dr. Burton himself.

What other theological scholar of our generation has given so much time and thought, at such high personal cost, to the modern missionary enterprise, or made so great a contribution to its leadership? And what missionary leader has thought so clearly and deeply on its problems? One of the last public addresses Dr. Burton ever delivered, when his burdens as President of the University of Chicago were at their heaviest, was, significantly enough, on the subject so near to his heart during all his later years—"Christian Education in China." Those who read that address (the last in this volume) in the light of all that has happened in China since his death, will understand why British as well as Ameri-

can church leaders recognized in him one of the foremost missionary statesmen of his generation, and why his counsel will be sorely missed in framing missionary policies for the future in the New Orient that he foresaw and loved.

Perhaps it is because this volume contains only this one address from the last and greatest period of his life—the "glorious two years" of his presidency—that it does not reveal so clearly as would the publication of his other later addresses, what many of his neighbors and friends feel to have been one of the most striking developments in his later life and work. An alumnus of the University, in a private letter, has put this final characteristic into words that are worth quoting just as they were written a year after his death: "During the 'glorious two years' of Dr. Burton's presidency every word which came from the University seemed filled with a certain spiritual quality which elicited from the alumnus an answering warmth which was, for me, 'the Chicago spirit.'" During his later years that "certain spiritual quality" shone more and more brightly and warmly through all that he said—and still more through all that he did. As this letter truly remarks, it was one of the intangible but most real characteristics of his presidential leadership, and pervaded all his later days like the fragrance of a full-grown flower.

For one reader of this volume at least, this "certain spiritual quality" shines through the closing address with a peculiar beauty, without ever obscuring the facts that are there so frankly faced, or the duties that are so plainly pointed out; and in the final paragraph it becomes a kind of sunset radiance, leaving us with the hope and promise of a better day—and a better world.

CHARLES W. GILKEY

July 16, 1926

CONTENTS

PART I

THE RELIGION OF JESUS AND OF PAUL

		PAGE
I.	Why I Am Content to Be a Christian	3
II.	Jesus as a Thinker	11
III.	The Personal Religion of Jesus	27
IV.	Religion and Ethics in the Thought of Paul	39
V.	Some Implications of Paulinism	51
VI.	Those Trouble-Makers in Galatia	63
VII.	Jesus and Paul	71

PART II

CHRISTIANITY IN THE LIFE OF TODAY

VIII.	A New Type of Christianity	101
IX.	What Should the Churches Demand of Theological Schools?	107
X.	The Need for an Educated Ministry	121
XI.	The Use of the New Testament Today	129
XII.	Is the Golden Rule Workable between Nations?	139
XIII.	The Challenge of the Present Crisis to American Christianity	151
XIV.	Ought the United States to Be a Missionary Nation?	161
XV.	America and the Makers of the New China	169
XVI.	The Future of Christian Education in China	177
	Bibliography	185
	Index	193

PART I

THE RELIGION OF JESUS AND OF PAUL

Looking back, not as Paul did, over thirty years, but over nineteen centuries, we have far more reason than he had to believe in a universal religion and in Jesus as the revealer of God to all men.

But we must also recognize that in every age each man must hear the Gospel in his own tongue and interpret Jesus in the terms of his own thinking.

Paul's right and duty is also our right, and not only our right, but our duty. Every generation, and to a degree every individual, must make his own religion.

For Paul's interpretation of Jesus we have reason to be forever grateful. Without him it is difficult to see how the message of Jesus could ever have come to the nations of Europe, or to us.

But to us also it belongs, as to Paul, to go back to Jesus, and in him to discover for ourselves the revelation of God; in his life to find for ourselves the way, the truth, the life.

—Ernest DeWitt Burton

I

WHY I AM CONTENT TO BE A CHRISTIAN[1]

NOTICE the form in which the subject is stated. It is not "Why I became a Christian," nor "Why I am a Christian," but "Why I am content to be a Christian." This form of words suggests that there are influences that might have persuaded me no longer to be a Christian, and which have, indeed, led me to consider whether I should still be a Christian. And this is in fact the case.

These influences have come from two sources. In the first place, within Christianity there has arisen a spirit of inquiry and investigation leading Christian scholars to ask, How did our religion come to be? When and under what impulse did our sacred books come to be? How did our faith in God first arise? Who founded the Christian church? What claim have this faith and this church to the allegiance of modern men? Not in mere curiosity have men asked these questions, but with the earnest desire to know the truth and with earnest purpose to abide by the results of their investigation whatever those results might be.

In the second place, from without Christianity there has come to Christian men a knowledge of other religions such as Christians formerly did not possess. Missionaries of Christianity, students of other religions, have brought to Christian nations accounts of other faiths and other religions that have won and held the allegiance of millions of people through centuries of history. And Christian men have asked them-

[1] An address delivered before non-Christian audiences in India, Ceylon, China, Korea, and Japan in 1909 during Dr. Burton's first educational mission to the Orient.

selves, What is the secret of the power of these religions? and, Is it certain after all that our religion alone is true or even the best among religions? And these questions, too, men have asked with earnestness and honesty, ready to accept the results of honest inquiry.

With the former class of questions it has been my duty to deal for many years, and I have tried to deal honestly and fearlessly with them. Of the latter I have less knowledge, yet am not wholly ignorant of the results of study along these lines also. As a result of such study I am, as my subject itself implies, content, gladly, joyously, to be a Christian. Some of the reasons I propose to give you, speaking little of other religions, chiefly giving the reasons which lie within Christianity itself.

1. I am content to be a Christian because Christianity is a religion of intellectual liberty—a religion which, making truth supreme, leaves me free, requires me, indeed, to accept whatever is true. This character was stamped upon it by its founder, Jesus of Nazareth. He lived in an age and nation in which religion was enslaved to tradition. The supreme question of the teachers of religion was not, What is the truth? but, What did our fathers hold? What has been handed down to us by the elders? Jesus stood forth, not in the spirit of an iconoclast, to break with the past, to reject all things old, nor to reaffirm the position of the teachers of his day, but to ask simply, What is true? With keen insight into the world about him, with masterful power of discerning in the facts of history, past and current, the truths of religion and morals that abide, he calmly and confidently passed judgment on that religion and morality which his contemporaries accepted from the past, saying of its most fundamental elements that they were good and destined to abide, but of much else that it was

not according to truth and had no claim on men's consciences or conduct.

In the footsteps of Jesus followed the apostle Paul. Having lived for years in the shackles of that legalism which had grown up out of the laws of the Old Testament, he learned at length in an hour of sudden illumination, or as the sequel of that hour, that the past has no right simply as the past to stand against men's clearer vision of the true; and though never losing reverence for the past and never equaling in clearness of vision his master, Jesus, yet dared to stand forth and say that even the most sacred rites of the past should no longer be observed when they had become shackles on the souls of men hindering their spiritual life.

It must be confessed that the church has not always recognized its own birthright; still less conceded it to others. Men have bound upon themselves and others burdens that neither they nor their fathers were able to bear. But the supremacy of truth has never been wholly lost sight of. Once and again the clear vision has returned; the débris of ages has been cleared away, and freedom regained. Pre-eminently in this generation has intellectual liberty been achieved—achieved, let us hope, never again to be lost.

Yet before I leave this phase of my subject, let me emphasize again that intellectual liberty does not mean scorn of the past. Nor does it mean a disposition to break with the past and begin to build wholly anew. What our fathers learned and handed down to us is infinitely precious. We cannot afford to diminish or scorn our inheritance. Sometimes an old building must be torn down, its very foundation removed, to make way for a new one. But this is not as a rule the way of progress in the intellectual life. With all due respect for the past, but with supreme regard for the truth, we accept that which approves itself as true. Then little by little

the new modifies the old until at length we find that we have practically a new intellectual world. But all the time truth is supreme, and the man is free.

2. I am content, in the second place, to be a Christian because Christianity, being a religion of intellectual liberty, is able to appropriate to itself truth from whatever source it comes, and, what is even more difficult, leave behind its own out-lived elements.

In Jesus' day men observed fasts at stated periods and could quote for these not only tradition but law. But Jesus allowed his disciples to neglect them, and when challenged for a reason, replied in effect that a regularly recurring fast met no real need of man; was, indeed, likely to be a falsehood. For it said in effect: I will be sad on such a day of such a month—yet on that very day one might have occasion of deepest joy. Asked why his disciples were not punctilious to keep the law of clean and unclean food, he answered, "Not that which enters into a man defiles a man, but that which goeth forth from him defiles him." That is, not food that enters the stomach touches and makes a man's morals, but his thoughts, his words, his deeds—these produce character. And saying these things in a few self-evident maxims, for the proof of which he appealed to men's own spiritual insight, he cut the ground from under whole pages of ancient law and great masses of tradition. Perceiving truth with a clearness not before achieved, he left the half-truth of the past behind.

Nor is this power denied to modern Christianity. Scarcely more than a generation ago Christianity was confronted with the rise of modern science which seemed to be threatening many of its cherished beliefs. Men rose in fervor to defend their religion against this new foe. But we have lived to know that it was not a foe, but a friend. We have, indeed, surrendered much to science and learned much from science;

and especially have learned to know that whatever she may give or take away, true science cannot make us poorer. And today every intelligent Christian recognizes that Christianity is purer, stronger, more effective because of the coming of modern science, and fears no more what science can do. For however scientific men may confuse truth and error, in the end true science can only bring us truth and thereby make us richer.

3. But I am content to be a Christian still more because Christianity is a religion of spiritual power. It maintains that fellowship of the human soul with God is possible, and vindicates that claim by a long line of men in whom faith in such fellowship has brought purity and power. True, fellowship with God is a mystery. But in what sphere of human experience will you not come upon mystery, if only you press your way far enough? Has not psychology its mysteries? Has not biology its mysteries? Have not even chemistry and physics theirs? Is it strange that religion should have its mysteries also? Mystery does not necessarily signify truth, but neither does it of necessity spell unreality or illusion. Back of that which produces great results there must be a reality. And by what have mightier results been won in the world than by the faith that there is an eternal supreme Spirit with whom it is possible for the receptive soul to enter into fellowship? Only let me remind you that to Christian faith fellowship with God is not the losing of one's self in ineffective contemplation, but it is, in Kepler's phrase, "to think God's thoughts after him," or better still, to think God's thoughts with him, and so to think them as to be stirred to act as God acts. Jesus sought the silence of the mountain top for fellowship with God, but he speedily returned to the valleys where men dwelt, there to work out the thoughts of God in deeds of good.

4. It is not, then, a contradiction of this that I have said,

but its natural sequel, when I add that I am content to be a Christian because Christianity sets before men a high ethical standard, and highest precisely in this: that it demands that men shall care not supremely for their own welfare, even their own moral welfare, but shall seek their own good in the good of their fellows. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and thy neighbor is thy fellow-man and to love him is to seek his welfare in all its phases and aspects. Jesus said, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many." Affirming this of himself, he demanded it also of his disciples. He who seeks any good for himself alone, though it be holiness and heaven, has missed the spirit of Jesus and the central moral principle of his religion. He that saveth his life shall lose it. He only who loses it in the common good truly saves it.

5. Again, I am content to be a Christian because Christianity is a religion of broad horizon. Every religion has its community. In Christianity the community is not the tribe, or the caste, or the nation, or even the race. Christianity, believing in fellowship with God, makes him the first member of its community, and then recognizing that he is the God of all men, and all men are one race, takes into its community all those to whom belongs the name of man. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy might, mind, and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." But not even here is the limit drawn. The birds of the air and the beasts of the earth are objects of the Heavenly Father's care, and so also, as our fellow-creatures, of our consideration. For no sentient being can lie wholly beyond the horizon or consideration of him who has learned the spirit of Jesus.

Because of these two last-named characteristics Christianity has become the religion of social elevation and elevated civilization. Excluding no sentient being from its hori-

zon, guiding itself by the principle of love to one's fellow-creatures, it has elevated womanhood, glorified childhood, created schools for every class and every age, built hospitals for the sick and asylums for the insane, formed societies for the promotion of every possible human good and the amelioration of every human ill, and for the prevention of cruelty to the lower animals. Because of these characteristics also it has become the great missionary religion of the world, not limiting admission to it to those born under its influence, but opening its doors to men of every race and color and sending its messengers to every land under the sun. It is in part because Christianity is a missionary religion that I am content to be a Christian.

6. Finally, I am content to be a Christian because Christianity embodies its ideals in a person who not only taught the truth, but perfectly exemplified it in his life and is today the mightiest force for the uplifting of men and nations. Great is the power of a single sentence of truth flung forth into the world to find its way to the minds of men. Great is the power of a song to sing its message into the hearts of men. But far beyond the power of words, however skilfully framed, is the power of truth embodied in a life. How supreme, then, the power of a life which, having before it the highest ideals, perfectly embodies those ideals, calling for no explanation or apology, but for unstinted admiration and approval. Such is the life of Jesus, and in that life the Christian sees the perfect ideal of human life, his challenge and his inspiration. But, more than this, in Jesus the Christian sees also the supreme revelation of God. In the face of Jesus Christ he sees the light of the glory of God. He does not deny that there have been other revelations of God, in the stars above and the earth beneath. He does not deny that God has spoken through many a sage and poet and prophet. Rather

does he glory in the fact that God hath left no age or nation without some token of his presence. I do not shrink from saying that in the face of my Christian father and mother I saw the first revelation of God, and I thank him for that blessed revelation. But above all prophets, priests, and poets, above all parents and teachers, in Jesus Christ we see the supreme revelation of God. And learning in him to know our God, we follow him in whose life we see the power of God; in whose face we see the light of the glory of God.

II

JESUS AS A THINKER[2]

THE GOSPELS of the New Testament do not speak of Jesus as a thinker. They call him prophet, teacher, savior, Christ, lord; and those aspects of his nature and forms of his activity which these terms set forth evidently occupied the attention of his contemporaries and followers to the exclusion, in large part, of his character distinctly as a thinker. Yet the gospels testify that Jesus *was* a thinker. Their record of his teaching bears the most unequivocal testimony that, far from fulfilling the rabbinic ideal of a scholar—one who could receive exactly what his teacher taught and transmit it unchanged to others—Jesus constantly drew, in his teaching, not from a mind stored with the thoughts of others, but out from the depths of his own thought. Even his contemporaries perceived this and exclaimed that he taught them with authority, and not as the scribes. Subsequent generations, with clearer recognition of his intellectual character, have willingly or unwillingly enrolled him among the world's thinkers, and his right so to be counted has become increasingly clear as by its intrinsic power his thought has more and more dominated the thinking of the world.

But the purpose of this paper is not to vindicate the conception of Jesus implied in its title or directly to discuss the correctness or value of his judgments and teachings, but to consider the range of his thought and the characteristics of his thinking from a psychological point of view.

[2] An article published in the *Biblical World* (October, 1897).

1. If the records of our gospels reflect correctly the range of his teaching, and if the range of his teaching indicates also the scope of his thinking, then it must be recognized that Jesus confined his thought almost exclusively to *religious and moral themes*. On questions of history, of physical or mental science, Jesus has nothing to say. Even upon those matters of science and philosophy which stand in closest relation with morals and religion he is silent. On the eternity of matter, the nature of creation, the origin of the human soul and its essential immortality, the ultimate source of moral evil—on these he has left no message for men. On questions of history, including those pertaining to the history of literature, he has no distinctive message. He used the language of current opinion, but whether because he held those opinions correct, or, holding no opinion on the subject, chose to adopt the current phraseology, need not here be discussed. It is clear —and this is all that is pertinent to our present purpose— that he laid no stress on these matters, gave no indication that he had a burden of prophetic message or of personal thought on them. He was concerned to tell men about God, not the infinite and the absolute, but the Heavenly Father, the holy, the righteous, the good; about themselves, their sin, the duty of repentance, the possibility of forgiveness; their relation to God above, and to himself as God's Son and revealer; their attitude toward their fellow-men, and their conduct in relation to them; the Kingdom of God already established among men, and destined to attain perfection hereafter; the vast importance of the present, the possibilities of eternal blessedness and irreparable loss. These are the themes of his discourse; if his words reflect his thought, these are the central themes of his thinking.

But let not this be understood as an assertion that the horizon of Jesus' thought was narrow, or his intellectual vi-

sion short. His thinking was intensive rather than discursive, remarkable rather for profound insight into the matters with which he dealt than for the great variety of them. Yet this very limitation of his thought was due, we are led to believe, to his recognition of the central signficance of those matters on which he chose to speak. Certain it is, at least, that the themes of his discourse are those which have proved themselves of most permanent interest and of most fundamental importance to mankind, and that his treatment of these was at the same time profound and broad. Let his conception of the Kingdom of God serve as a single illustration. The term, no doubt, he found ready-made to his hand, but representing in the mind of his contemporaries a conception neither very broad nor very elevated. By the alchemy of his thought he purified it of its militarism and its materialism, made it centrally religious and ethical, and at the same time most broadly human, embracing all human conduct and relationships; he broke down its bounds of nationalism and made it world-wide in its scope; and, by these enlargements and elevations of the conception, justified and clarified the belief in its unending perpetuity. Alexander dreamed of world-wide empire; Plato had his conception of the ideal state; More, and multitudes of social philosophers and dreamers after him, have pictured their utopias. But Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God, set forth in a few parables and pregnant sentences, remains at once the most perfect, the most comprehensive, the most ideal, and the most practical conception of an order of human society that human words have yet expressed.

2. The thinking of Jesus was *penetrative and germinal* rather than systematic. It dealt with central and regulative principles rather than with the construction of a system of thought. There have been among the thinkers of the past

men of at least two distinguishable types of mind—the poetic or prophetic and the organizing or scholastic. The thinkers of the former class have sought above all things to grasp and to communicate certain central, germinal principles; the elaboration of a system of thought which should embody, harmonize, and apply these principles has never been their ambition. Such, broadly speaking, were Socrates among the ancients and Emerson among the moderns. Other minds, not less great in their own way, have been moved by the organizing impulse; to them a truth has been but half a truth until they have found its relation to other truth, and woven it into their system. Such, in a measure, was Aristotle; such certainly have been many of our modern theologians. There can be no question to which class Jesus belongs. He was not a schoolman, but a prophet; not a system-maker, but a thinker, a seer. He elaborated no system of morals, of theology, or of worship. Neither the mutual adjustments of truths to one another nor even the exact and formal definition of them seem to have been matters of great moment to him. Those realms where truths meet and seemingly limit one another, those frontiers which are the delight of the casuist and the speculative theologian, seem to have had no attraction for him. With a strong preference—characteristic of the prophet—for concrete rather than abstract statement, with a neglect of those qualifications and caveats with which the schoolman seeks after exactness, he put forth his teachings in the form of rules of action or bold figures of speech, careless, apparently, that the superficial hearer would be certain to mistake shell for kernel, and stumble at the impossibility of literal obedience, and that the system-maker would find certain great areas unfilled, and others apparently occupied with contradictory propositions. The parable, with its one central truth, ignoring alike all other truths and the problem of ap-

plying this one, and exposed to the constant danger of over-interpretation; the unqualified command, stumbling-block to literalists ever since; the striking paradox; the bold figure certain to create perplexity, but certain for this very reason to be remembered—these are the favorite forms of Jesus' speech. Elaborated discourse, closely reasoned and moving on from step to step with the exactness and dulness of a logician—he is never represented as speaking after this fashion. If his speech reflects his thought, it shows, not that he had never thought out the applications of his principles to conduct—his life shows that he had—still less that he had not unified the relatively central principles which lay back of his aphorisms in those still more ultimate—there is clear evidence that he had done this also—but that he cared far more for central principles than for the adjustment of them to one another or the organization of them into a system.

Here again the conception of the kingdom furnishes a pertinent illustration. Central to all his teaching as this thought is, there is nowhere in his teaching so much as an outline sketch of it as a whole. Its strategic points, so to speak, are seized, and the real limits of the kingdom and its essential nature thus fixed. But this is all. The early church scarcely recognized the breadth of the conception itself or the determinative character of the points fixed by Jesus. Mere exegesis and reflection have always stumbled at the attempt to fill in the details; it is pre-eminently true here that the willingness to do, and even the actual attempt to do, are the indispensable conditions of a practical interpretation of the teaching. But each honest attempt to realize in action the ideal of Jesus, only pregnantly set forth in his words, has both justified the conception itself and opened the way to another advance step in its interpretation.

3. Jesus was thoroughly *independent* in his thinking.

Through-and-through conservatism is a comparatively easy position to maintain. Out-and-out radicalism is scarcely more difficult when once the mind is made up to break with the past and take the cold plunge into the sea of negations. Genuine independence is possible only to a great mind. Jesus did his work as a public teacher when the minds of men in Palestine were for the most part held in the grip of a hard and dead traditionalism. The "dead hand" of a stupid, unspiritual, unintellectual traditionalism was upon the whole generation, stifling thought and aspiration. In such a time Jesus stood forth, not to denounce and deny all that traditionalism stood for, not to accept and teach it, but with deep discrimination to reaffirm what his clear vision saw to be true; to deny what he saw to be false; to give men a wholly new point of view from which to try both old and new. He was not, indeed, alone in his opposition to the Pharisaic traditionalism. Sadducees and Essenes, too, were dissenters from the dominant school of thought. But toward them also he assumed the same independence of position which he took toward Pharisaism. Even less in sympathy with Sadducism than with Pharisaism, more in agreement with Essenism than with either, he was neither Pharisee, Sadducee, nor Essene; neither anti-Pharisee, anti-Sadducee, anti-Essene, nor even eclectic. With the calmness of absolute independence and of absolute certainty, he stood alone and spoke to men from the depth of his own perceptions and convictions.

But the independence of Jesus was not an independence of his contemporaries only. It was an independence of his predecessors in prophetic office also. Jesus assumes a position, not above Pharisaism and Sadducism and Essenism only, but above the prophets and lawgivers of the Old Testament also. This is by no means to say—what would be very far from true—that he placed the Old Testament on the same

level with Pharisaism. On the contrary, while he condemned Pharisaism as hollow at heart and fair only on the outside, he pronounced the morals and religion of the Old Testament to be fundamentally and essentially right and permanent. "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets. I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law till all things be accomplished." Yet, in this very act of setting the seal of his approval upon the Old Testament, he assumes the position of superiority to it. He speaks, not as one who, being subject to the Old Testament, is bound to accept and repeat its teachings, whatever they may be, but as one who, being competent to pass judgment on it, pronounces it good. And this attitude is made still clearer by the way in which he deals with the specific commandments of the Old Testament. Alike in respect to such moral matters as retaliation and resistance, oaths and truthfulness, and the perpetuity of the marriage bond, and such external matters as fasting, ceremonial cleanness, and the Sabbath, he takes a different position from that which is maintained in some parts of the Old Testament. Though in all these matters dealing directly with the current Pharisaic teaching—apparently he never discussed historical questions as such, not even the question whether the teachings of the Old Testament were authoritative for their own time—he yet corrected these current opinions, not by appeal to the Old Testament as final authority, but, making himself the authority, laid down principles which went deeper than a revision or abolition of the Pharisaic teachings and carried with them a revision of the Old Testament statutes themselves. The Christian church long ago surrendered circumcision, because the apostle Paul emphatically and explicitly rejected it. It has, theoretically at least, accepted the teaching of Jesus con-

cerning divorce, because of like explicitness of statement. It has been far less consistent and unanimous in the acceptance of the teaching of Christ concerning some other matters: such, for example, as fasting and the Sabbath, because that which lies upon the surface is only a criticism of Pharisaism; and it has often most astonishingly failed to perceive the principle which underlay Christ's teaching on all these matters, and has been singularly slow to recognize the attitude which, in his treatment of these matters, Jesus assumes toward the Old Testament as such. The fact that, while Jesus emphatically affirms the authority and perpetuity of the Old Testament, he yet, in close connection with such affirmation, lays down principles which require a revision or abolition of Old Testament statutes is doubly significant. It shows—what indeed is implied in his summation of the law and prophets of the Old Testament in its one central ethical principle of love—that his approval is of the ethical principles which pervade and dominate the Old Testament, not of all its detailed statutes, and, at the same time, that alike in approval and in criticism he did not put himself in intellectual subjection to the law, bound to teach only in consistency with it, but assumed the position of one who, possessing a more ultimate standard of truth and a more perfect knowledge of the mind of God than the prophets of old, stood above them and passed judgment on their teachings.

4. The thinking of Jesus was eminently *positive and constructive.* As has already been intimated, his thinking was revolutionary in a sense. It contained the germs of truth which were destined in their development to bring about such a transfer of emphasis, even as compared with that of the religion of the Old Testament, as would abolish religious institutions that had stood for centuries. It is not less true that his clear enunciation of principles was to work a change

scarcely less than revolutionary in the world's conception of the nature of religion and of morality. Yet the thinking of Jesus is not negative and not iconoclastic. He does not batter down institutions or systems of thought. He plants a germ of truth which is destined by its positive character to undermine and overthrow both. But it is to do this by creating new thought and new institutions. And Jesus clearly recognized that this process was to be slow and long, and that, meantime, men cannot be left without shelter or anchorage. He compared his teaching to the seed, the harvest from which cannot be gathered till the consummation of the age; to the leaven that works in the lump till the whole is leavened. He opposed the teaching as well as the practice of the Pharisees. Yet at the close of his ministry he bade men not to break with Pharisaism. Recognizing at the same time the essential vices of the teaching of the Pharisees and their position as in fact and of necessity the leaders of the people, clearly perceiving both the ultimate destiny of his own teaching to undermine and displace that of the scribes and the necessity that his teaching, expressed almost entirely in germ and principle only, should overthrow Pharisaism only as it should replace it by nobler ethics and purer religion and better institutions, he chose to leave Pharisaism in outward possession of the field rather than to precipitate intellectual and moral anarchy by out-and-out iconoclasm. Toward the Old Testament and those Jewish institutions which embodied its legislation he was, of course, far more conservative. He knew that one greater than the temple had come, and predicted the overthrow of the temple and its ritual; but he never attacked temple worship, and even indignantly rebuked the desecration of its courts. He taught principles which would abolish fasting as prescribed by the law, the distinction of clean and unclean, and the sanctity of places, and which involved a

serious modification of the Sabbath idea. But he laid emphasis, not on these things, but on the authority of the Old Testament and the permanence of its ethics and religion. He was destined to increase and could afford to wait. He was a revolutionist, but not an anarchist: the boldest type of a reformer and the purest type of a conservative.

5. But the most fundamental characteristic of Jesus' thinking remains to be stated. That which more than all else determines the character of his thought is the nature of the basis on which it rests. Its constant and final appeal is to *reality*. Clear in statement, so translucent as to seem, to the not too attentive reader, simple, if not even superficial, totally devoid of that learned and labored obscurity which characterizes the utterances of so many men of philosophical mind, the thought of Jesus, even upon the simplest themes, is marked above everything else by the fact that it never lingers upon the surface, never deals with the externals and accidental details, but with steadfast aim penetrates at once to the heart of the matter.

This penetrative character of Jesus' thought is beautifully illustrated in his interpretation of the Old Testament. Take, for example, his answer to the first of the three recorded wilderness temptations. It had been suggested to him that he should convert the stones into bread, with the insinuation that not to do it was to confess that he was not God's son. But Jesus answered: "It is written, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.'" In other words, he denied that bread was indispensable to him or necessary as evidence of his sonship. He brushed aside the temptation to doubt God's love or to disobey his will by the assertion of a faith which needed no new evidence to support it, and calmly waited God's time to supply his need. Now this, if not the meaning that lies upon the

surface of Deut. 8:3 is the true meaning and the deepest meaning of the passage. Moses is speaking to the children of Israel concerning the meaning and purpose of their experience in the wilderness:

> And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God hath led thee these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble thee, to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldst keep his commandments or no. And he humbled thee and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know, that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread alone, but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.

The purpose of the wilderness experience, in which the Israelites were cut off from the ordinary sources of supply, is affirmed to have been to lift their thought from material things to God—to lead them to put their trust, not in nature, but in the God who, in nature, is also above nature. Superficial thought might have drawn from the passage a conclusion exactly the opposite of that which Jesus drew. One might have said, When the children of Israel in the wilderness lacked ordinary bread, God gave them bread miraculously. Surely, when the Son of God is hungry in the wilderness, beyond the reach of ordinary food, he may by miraculous power supply himself with bread. But Jesus does not so reason. Passing by any contrast between ordinary and extraordinary food supply, he finds in the passage the deeper teaching that man is always to wait on God and count nothing indespensable but obedient trust in him.

Or take, again, his answer to the Sadducees concerning the resurrection: "But as touching the dead that they are raised, have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the place concerning the bush, how God spake unto him, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of

Jacob'? He is not the God of the dead but of the living: ye do greatly err." Now it must undoubtedly be recognized that the Old Testament passage furnishes no evidence that the words as originally uttered either conveyed, or were intended to convey, any thought concerning immortality. They are uttered to Moses—and emphasized by being four times repeated—on the occasion of his commission by God to become the leader and deliverer of Israel. Their evident intent is to express two ideas: first, the fact that God had entered into covenant relation with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and second, that he who then covenanted with the patriarchs was a God that changed not, but remembered and kept the covenant that he had made. The immediate application of these truths is to the effect that in the first place Moses, and after him the people, might trust without doubt in the God of their fathers. But these same ideas are capable of another application. In that God entered into covenant relation with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he declared them to be the objects of his loving regard. In that he declared that he was a God that changes not, he affirmed that he could never cease to love those of whom he said, "I am their God." But if so, then it is impossible that these men should cease to be. Change in the form of their existence may ensue, but it can never be that the personal objects of the Almighty God's unchanging love can pass out into non-existence. God's love is for those whom he loves, whom he has taken into that covenant relation with himself which is expressed in the words, "I am your God," the guaranty of immortality — even more, of eternal life. This argument does not prove the essential immortality of the human soul as human. It does not prove a bodily resurrection. But it does prove—it is the most solid and substantial argument that can possibly be advanced for proving — the immortality of the righteous. And this was essentially the

question then under dispute. The Sadducees denied the resurrection, not because they stumbled at the materialism involved in a bodily resurrection, but because of the antimaterialism involved in the doctrine of the immortality of the righteous. Jesus answered them, not by a philosophical argument to prove the essential immortality of the human soul, but by a moral argument based on the Old Testament conception, which he accepted, of the moral character of God. He found this truth expressed in a passage which, though it had nothing directly to say concerning immortality, really affirmed that truth concerning God which forms the most solid ground of hope for a life to come.

But is Jesus' ultimate reason for accepting and teaching any doctrine the fact that it is found in the Old Testament? And is his profundity of thought manifested simply in his interpretation of the Old Testament? If it were so, then we should have to say, not that his ultimate appeal was to the reality of things, but to the authority of the Old Testament; and the question would still remain on what ground he rested this authority. But this is not the case. Jesus is, indeed, the very ideal of an interpreter. But just because he is this, he is also critic; and because he is far more than either interpreter or critic in the literary sense, he does not stop with the Old Testament, but, alike in approving and amending it, he makes his ultimate appeal to the very nature of things — to ultimate reality. It was said above that he was independent even of the Old Testament. It remains to show that, in assuming this position of independence, his standard of judgment was not some other literature or philosophy, but things as they are — the world as the revelation of divine thought, divine thought as directly perceived by him. Let his discussion of clean and unclean meats serve as an illustration. He disregarded the Pharisaic tradition and practice concerning the washing of

hands before meals. Criticized for it, he did not appeal to the Old Testament for justification of his conduct, though this would have sustained him so far as the particular matter in hand was concerned. He did not quote any other authority, nor rest it upon his own personal dictum. He appealed to the very nature of man and of moral action. Not the material, clean or unclean, which, being on a man's hands as he eats, enters into the stomach, can affect his moral character. The two are in different realms, and neither if he eat is he the worse, nor if he eat not is he the better. Moral character is the product of moral action. What proceeds from a man—this alone defiles him. The nature of man, the nature of morality —these are the foundations of his argument. He who would assail it must do so on the basis of a truer knowledge of ultimate realities. No appeal to teacher or literature will suffice. Below Pharisaism, below the Old Testament ritual itself, down to the ultimate nature of things, Jesus carries his argument. It is doubtful whether anyone perceived how much it meant at the time, but by the time our gospel was written our evangelist perceived it and added the words " [This he said], making all meats clean."

Christ's treatment of marriage, fasting, and the Sabbath furnishes other instructive illustrations of this characteristic of his teaching and thinking. But space must not be taken to set them forth in detail. It would be particularly instructive to examine his utterances concerning his Messiahship and mission. But this topic is too large for a paragraph; it calls for a paper by itself.

6. But now it must be asked, How did Jesus know the ultimate nature of things? And with this question we push our inquiry concerning his character as a thinker to the farthest point that it can reach. How did he know that material things do not defile the soul by their touch? How was

he able to say that Gen. 2:24 rather than Deut. 24:1 expresses the fundamental and permanent law of marriage? How had he learned that man's highest duty toward God is loving trust? How did he know that God is love, and that love sums up the law for man? Such knowledge he constantly claimed by implication and assertion. On what did he base that claim? For surely his own testimony must furnish us our most certain, if not our only, answer. And this answer is clear. He bases his claim to knowledge on his *relation to God*. "He that sent me is true; and the things which I heard from him, these speak I unto the world." Perfect harmony with God, perfect union with God—this, he claimed, gave to him knowledge alike of God and of man. And they who beheld his glory were persuaded, both that he truly declared God unto them, and that he knew perfectly what was in man. And if it be given to men whose sight, though clouded by sin, is yet not utterly destroyed, to try by their imperfect vision the utterances of one who claims to speak as Jesus claimed that he spoke, then appeal may be made to the clearest moral vision of nineteen centuries to substantiate the claim of Jesus to know in the realm of morals and religion the ultimate reality of all things that are. And if the world's experience is valid testimony to the nature of God and man, then God himself has been through centuries of history attesting the truth of Christ's thoughts and of his claim to know things as they are.

It is this characteristic of Jesus, his direct perception of truth by perfect insight, that takes away from his discourse everything that appears like inductive reasoning. For the most part he does not argue; he simply declares. And when he argues, as, for example, in reference to the resurrection and the casting out of demons, his reasoning is wholly deductive. In this latter day we exalt the value of inductive reasoning; and, doubtless, for most men and in most realms of study

it is the safest method of reasoning. But it ought not to be forgotten that in the realm of morals and religion there is for him who possesses the power a more direct and a more sure method of reaching the truth. Even for his disciples Jesus taught that a right state of heart and a right moral attitude toward himself and toward truth would give insight into truth. But he himself must forever remain the clear and shining example of possession of truth by insight.

If, indeed, the term "thinker" be taken in the narrower sense of reasoner—one who reaches conclusions by an articulated course of thought involving temporary uncertainty and conflict prolonged and sometimes painful, then it must be said that only to a limited degree does the term "thinker" apply to Jesus at all. The gospels seem to show that he was not altogether lifted above even such exigencies of human nature. Yet this is not the marked characteristic of Jesus' thinking. And the title of thinker must be applied to him in the broad and true sense of the word—a man of thought, of perception, of insight. Because he is such; because insight, when it is true, is the highest form of thought; because the world and the church in the exercise of their lesser power of insight, following him afar off, penetrating with slow and halting step into the depths of his thought and into the meaning of the world, entering after him into fellowship with God, and testing his categorical assertions by centuries of experience, find his thought ever more clearly verifying itself as true, we accept him today, not only as Lord and Christ, to whom we owe the allegiance of our wills, but as first among the thinkers of the world, teacher of all teachers, leader of the world's best thought.

III

THE PERSONAL RELIGION OF JESUS[3]

POSSIBLY to many Christians the thought of Jesus as himself a religious man is a strange one. They have been accustomed to think of him as a teacher of religion to others, and as the object of religious worship by others, but not as himself religious. Yet in fact the records of Jesus' life have not a little to say concerning Jesus' own religious life.

If we seek a comprehensive description of the religion of Jesus, looked at as a personal experience, we shall find it in *his filial spirit toward God as his Father*. In the first sentence which the gospels record from his lips, he speaks with filial affection of God as his Father, and dying on the cross he committed himself to God in the words: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." This filial spirit, which is characteristic of his whole life, expresses itself in several specific ways.

It appears, in the first place, in a manifest pleasure in the thought of God as his Father, and in communion with him. Of the life of Jesus that precedes his baptism by John and his entrance upon public duties there is but one incident recorded in the gospels in which Jesus himself takes any voluntary part. Visiting Jerusalem when he was twelve years old, he was accidentally left behind by his parents when they started for Nazareth. Found by them in the temple and chided for having given them so much anxiety, he answered with surprise that they should have known that he would be found in his Father's house. Two things appear here that are worthy

[3] An article published in the *Biblical World* (December, 1899).

of our notice: first, left to himself in Jerusalem, the place to which he naturally turned his steps was the place that was most suggestive of God—the temple dedicated to divine worship; and secondly, the phrase which he spontaneously uses in speaking of God is "my Father." Here is the filial delight in being in the place which by its associations is more conducive than any other in the city to the thoughts of God, to communion with him, and the filial thought of God, not simply as God, but as his Father.

This same delight in the thought of God, and the sense of his presence, appears repeatedly in his after-life. We do not, indeed, find him seeking in the temple a place of communion with God; for the double reason, perhaps, that as he came to know more of the heartlessness and formality of temple worship its associations were less helpful to him, and that his later years were mainly spent in Galilee. But we do find him both turning to the synagogue, where prayer was offered, and betaking himself at the close of the busy days to the quiet of the hills for communion with his Father. Particularly in times of special temptation, as when the multitude would have taken him and made him king, and in moments of special responsibility, as when he was about to choose the Twelve, do the gospels indicate that he sought the solitude of the hills at night for prayer to God. And that name, which is the very first that the gospels record him to have used of God, is also his characteristic name for God all through his life. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven." "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and prudent, and didst reveal them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." "Father, forgive

them, for they know not what they do." "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

This filial spirit shows itself, in the second place, in an unwavering faith in God. This is the keynote of his resistance to the temptations in the wilderness. Confronting, after thirty years of quiet village life, the responsibilities of his public career, filled with the fresh assurance which came to him in connection with his baptism that God accepted him and recognized him as his son, girded afresh with the power of the Spirit of God, he is impelled into the solitude of the wilderness, doubtless seeking here, as so often afterward, opportunity for meditation and communion with God. Reflecting so deeply on his new responsibilities and the principles and methods according to which this great new work is to be done that he forgets even to eat, the days of meditation become also days of temptation. And when at length he comes to the consciousness of hunger, this furnishes occasion for fresh temptation. It is suggested to him that there is an inconsistency between being Son of God, object of God's fatherly love, and his going hungry; and with this suggestion comes also the other—that he shall therefore turn the stones into bread and end his hunger. In such a suggestion there lies a double danger. On the one hand, if, admitting the thought of the inconsistency of divine sonship and hunger, he shall find in the fact of hunger occasion for putting to the test the fact of divine sonship by an attempt to feed himself with stones turned to bread, then he has forsaken his simple trust in God and has sought to substantiate by test of his own that of which God had already given him assurance and of which the trusting filial heart needs no further substantiation. On the other hand, if, admitting the thought that lack of bread impugns God's love and puts in doubt the reality of his sonship, he dare not even put the matter to a test, again his faith has

given place to doubt, and doubt is far on the way to became despair. This is but an example of that temptation with which men are continually assailed in time of stress and want: either, doubting God's love, to strike out for themselves a path in life, in effect taking the care of themselves out of God's hands into their own, instead of trustfully waiting on God; or else, not daring this, to sink into unbelieving despair. But Jesus yields to neither danger. He answers in words of Old Testament Scripture: "It is written, man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God shall man live." He refuses to admit that there is any contradiction between God's love and his hunger, refuses to admit that he must have bread, and so must either seize it to prove God's love of him, or doubt that love, insisting rather that it is his to wait God's word in simple faith and trust. Putting himself on the plane of every other man's life, he wins his victory by a man's faith in God. "*Man* shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God."

Were there space to speak here of the other two temptations of the wilderness, it would appear, I am sure, that in these, too, Jesus wins his victory by a simple, unshaken, and unshakable faith in God. Tempted to manufacture evidence to confirm his conviction that God loved him, he answered that no such factitious test, no such manufactured evidence, was needed; that the demand for it was itself an unbelieving tempting of God. Offered all the kingdoms of the world—and let it be remembered that it was a kingdom that he was seeking to establish, and none the less a real kingdom over the hearts and lives of men because not a military or a political régime—offered speedy dominion over the world, a short-cut as it were, to the fulfilment of his ambitions, if he would fall down and worship Satan—in other words, tempted to seek

the realization of the kingdom by indirection and the waiving of the high, stern claims of righteousness and truth—he answered that such indirection was in itself a surrender to Satan, and that the high ends of the Kingdom of God should be sought without the surrender or slightest abatement of absolute allegiance to God.

And this faith, tried in the fire at the outset of his ministry, confirmed and settled by his forty days of meditation in the wilderness, runs like a golden thread through all his life. In the face of success and of defeat; when the multitude follow him, and when they forsake him; when they would take him and make him king, and when they went back and walked no more with him; in the hour of the triumphal entry, and in the hour of scourging and mocking; amid the toils of his laborious ministry, and in the agonies of Gethsemane and the cross—his faith in his Father never wavers.

There is, indeed, a single sentence of Jesus which might seem to mark an eclipse of his faith. I mean the words on the cross: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Yet even this sentence, carefully examined, only bears fresh testimony to the constancy of his faith under the severest strain. The words are from an Old Testament psalm which portrays the experience of a godly man who is suffering most keenly at the hands of his foes and cannot understand how the righteous God can permit it; how the God who loves him can thus apparently leave him in the hands of his enemies. The language is that of deep perplexity, of a soul which can put no other interpretation upon the facts than that God has forgotten him; yet in the midst of these facts he refuses to surrender his faith in God, and in the same words in which he expresses his perplexity and boldly puts upon the events the interpretation which seems to him the only possible one, expresses also his faith in God: *"My God, my God!"* In the

latter part of the psalm he issues from the storm into the calmness of quiet trust. But the first part expresses as real a faith as the latter. For there is no stronger faith than that of him who clings to God in the face of what seems to him convincing evidence that God has forgotten him. It is certainly fair to presume that the words in Jesus' mouth have the meaning which they bear in the psalm. He, too, in the midst of sufferings which perhaps cloud his intellectual clearness, and certainly seem to him to mean that God has deserted him to his enemies, he too, refuses to doubt God, and clings to him still in the words, *"My God, my God!"* And, as in the case of the psalmist, so in his case also, after the storm there ensues the calm, and he yields up his spirit with the calm and trustful words: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Closely associated with the element of faith in Jesus' life is a third element: that of obedience to the Father's will. In a sense the two are, indeed, inseparable. For, given a perfect trust in God's goodness and wisdom, there can be no other course than to do the things which are in accordance with the will of the all-wise and all-loving Father. But it ought to be distinctly recognized that the life of Jesus involved the element of conscious subjection of his will to that of God, not merely of spontaneous harmony with it. Even perfect trust in God does not of necessity make the tasks which God's will sets for us attractive in themselves, or otherwise than distinctly and intensely dreadful to us. In the life of perfect trust there is still room for the conscious obedience to authority imposing hard and dreadful tasks, to be done with joy, indeed, but only with the deep joy of yielding to the will of the all-wise God. Such yielding there was in the life of Jesus. That he sometimes acted from a simple sense of right we cannot deny, though the evidence of it is certainly

not clear or strong. That he often acted simply from those impulses which were the product of his fellowship with God, and so, in a sense, without effort or intention, there is every reason to believe. "The Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works," is no doubt the description of a large part of his activity. It is equally clear that his deepest joy was to do the will of his Father. "My meat is," he says, "to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work." But it must not be forgotten that there were instances in which, with loyal obedience, he bent his will to that which he recognized to be the Father's will for him; not from spontaneous impulse or from joy in the thing to be done, but in simple allegiance to God and deliberate purpose to do God's will, whatever of humiliation or suffering the doing of it might involve.

This principle of obedience he clearly enunciated when John sought to dissuade him from being baptized on the ground that it was more fitting that Jesus should baptize him than that he should baptize Jesus. "Suffer it to be so now," he says, "for thus it becomes us to do fully all righteousness." In other words: "Grant that it is inappropriate; grant that it involves an unsuitable subordination on my part. Yet permit it now. For thus, waiving dignity and rank, it is becoming for us to meet faithfully every requirement of God's will." To Jesus the voice of the prophet calling Israel to make ready for the coming kingdom was a voice to him also. And when that voice spoke, it was fitting for him to listen and obey. Obedience was demanded in the sacred name of righteousness.

This subjection to duty, distinctly conceived, however, as the will of God, is still more strikingly illustrated in his attitude toward his death. On the first occasion on which he is recorded as having spoken plainly to his disciples of his coming death, his language shows that he shrank from it with

a great horror while yet resolutely going forward to it. To Peter, who sought to dissuade him from believing that he should die at the hands of his own nation, he answered in words that show at once how welcome to his feelings was Peter's suggestion and how resolutely he put it from him: "Get thee behind me, tempter, thou thinkest not the thoughts of God, but of men." Nor did this shrinking from death diminish with familiarity with the thought of it, or its actual approach. Rather did it deepen and intensify, until, in the agony of Gethsemane, while going unflinchingly forward to his death, he yet cries out, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not my will but thine be done"; and on the cross he exclaims, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" In such an act as this we see faith assuming its heroic form in submission to the duty to which he goes, not with joy in the act itself, but only in the doing of it, because it is God's will for him. Many a hard-hearted, self-contained criminal has faced death with a calmness and an indifference which are wholly lacking in Jesus. Many a martyr has gone to the stake with songs of triumph on his lips and with a positive exultation in his fate which made him almost indifferent to his pain. Jesus cannot thus die. To him the death of the cross means too much, involves too terrible and painful a revelation and expression of the world's sin, to permit him to view its approach either with the calm indifference of the man to whom sin is no evil, or with the exulting joy of the martyr who can forget for the time the world and its sin and remember only God and the world to come. Full as was his life of that joyous doing of congenial tasks given him of his Father to do, there is not lacking also that other element of human life, the doing of the unwelcome task, the bearing of the awful burden which God's holy will imposes on a na-

ture that shrinks in every fiber from the horror of the awful task.

And this leads us to notice a fourth element of Jesus' religious life, his unreserved devotion to the interests of his fellowmen. He "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many." For him, as for his disciples, the principle held that his life was saved by losing it. He spent the years of his ministry in toiling for men, and sacrificed life itself in their service. More expressive than any word he uttered concerning his life or his death is the life itself and the death itself. These testify that he gave all his energies and life itself for the well-being of his fellow-men.

It may, indeed, be said that this was not religion, but morality. But in his case it was both morality and religion; there was no separation between the two. "I came not to do my own will, but the will of him that sent me," and "The son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister," expressed, not antagonistic or rival principles, but two phases of the same principle. "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me and to finish his work," was spoken with reference to the teaching of the truth to the woman of Samaria. The casting of the grain of wheat into the ground that by dying it might bear much fruit was an act of obedience to the will of God. And in Gethsemane he faced his own death upon the cross for men as at once for men and in obedience to the will of God. The good shepherd laid down his life for the sheep, having received this commandment from his Father; and the Father loved the Son because of this act of devotion to the interests of men. Unreserved devotion of himself to the interests of men was a part of the religion of Jesus, because it was for him the will of God.

It was said at the outset that Jesus was both a teacher of religion to others and an embodiment of religion in himself.

How, let it be asked for a moment, does the religion that Jesus taught to others compare with the religion of his own life? It must suffice for our present purpose, without entering into the details of Jesus' religious teaching, to mention merely its great central elements. Jesus bade men repent of their sin, taught them the need of being born anew by the Spirit of God, and promised them forgiveness on condition of repentance and the forgiveness of others. He bade men believe in God as their Father, and in himself as God's Son. He taught them to pray, "Thy will be done," and themselves to do God's will, as he revealed it. He bade them give themselves to the service of mankind as he gave himself, and in that service to hold back nothing, even unto the surrender of life itself.

It is evident that between this religion as Jesus taught it and the religion of Jesus himself as he lived it there are at once marked resemblances and marked differences.

Jesus bade other men repent and seek forgiveness. He told them that they must needs be born anew if they would have part in God's kingdom. But in his own life there is no repentance, no prayer for forgiveness, no thanks for forgiveness granted, no mention of a new birth. Of this striking fact differentiating his own religious life from the religion which he taught there is but one explanation. That he was a deliberate and conscious hypocrite, knowingly sinning and pretending to be free from sin, or that he was sinful but unconscious of the presence in himself of that which he so penetratingly rebuked in others—these are hypotheses that need no more than the mention of them to refute them. Of the notable and significant fact that repentance, regeneration, forgiveness have so large a place in his teaching and no place at all in his own life, the only possible explanation is that morally Jesus was utterly different from other men. He lived on another plane from that on which his contemporaries moved, on

another plane from that on which we live. He was the sinless, we the sinful; he the perfect, we the faulty. And this great fact can never be lost sight of when we consider the religion of Jesus, whether as he taught it or as he lived it.

But if the differences between the religion which Jesus taught and that which he lived are important; not less so are their resemblances. Indeed, the resemblances are more fundamental than the differences. The joyful recognition of God as his Father, the unwavering trust in God, the unflinching obedience to his will even unto death which characterize his attitude toward God; the unreserved devotion of himself to the service of mankind which was to him the content of God's will for him so far as concerned the world about him—all these are in the religion which he taught to others and in the same measure in which he himself exemplified them. Jesus did not set up one standard of life for himself and another for men. All that he himself did he taught them to do. Wherein, then, is the difference? Solely in the fact that men did not live, had not lived, as he had, in accordance with this ideal and in the necessary consequences of that fact. Repentance, regeneration, the need of forgiveness—these belong to the religion of other men and do not belong to the personal religion of Jesus, simply because *they* have sinned, and *he* has not; they have failed to live according to that ideal which he set forth for them and himself exemplified, and, having so failed, have as their first duty repentance, the turning of the soul from the false to the true, from the evil to the good, from self to God. This is our *first* duty. But it is so because our *fundamental* duty is to live as Jesus lived, in filial fellowship with God, and this we have failed to do.

The personal religion of Jesus is fundamentally the same religion that he taught his followers to live, the religion that he bids us to live. God grant us grace turning from our own evil way to walk the way he trod before!

IV

RELIGION AND ETHICS IN THE THOUGHT OF PAUL[4]

THERE has been much discussion in times past of the apostle's doctrine of justification, and, in late years, of his eschatology and Christology. But it is doubtful whether his thought about the essential features of the religious life in its specifically Christian form has received a proportionate amount of attention. Nowhere is his thought concerning the content of religion and of morality and their mutual relations more strikingly set forth than in Gal. 5:6. But for the full apprehension of the meaning of this passage it must be interpreted in the light of its relation to the whole epistle, and especially to the remainder of the chapter in which it stands.

The Epistle to the Galatians is one of the most interesting in the whole New Testament collection. Its vivid presentation of a tense and critical situation gives it almost the quality of a drama. It is also one of the most modern, in the sense that it deals with questions that enter in principle into problems that are still of vital interest to men. It was written to a group of churches which the apostle himself had founded. These churches had been visited after the apostle's departure by Christian preachers who, holding a very different conception of Christianity from that which Paul held and preached, had nearly succeeded in persuading the Galatians to accept their view instead of the apostle's. The letter was evidently written immediately after the receipt of this very disturbing

[4] An article published in the *Biblical World* (November, 1910).

news, and had for its purpose to arrest the threatened movement in the direction of that which Paul regarded as a perverted gospel and a practical apostasy from Christ.

The letter clearly reveals to us Paul's original message in response to which the Galatians had become Christians, and the counter argument of the perverting preachers, as well as Paul's reply to their argument.

The Galatians were Gentiles and Paul's converts were made from among idol-worshipers. Paul himself was a Jew, a Jew who believed in Jesus as the Christ, but still a Jew. But his message to the Galatians did not include an invitation to become Jewish proselytes, or to put themselves under the yoke of the Jewish law. He preached to them a living and true God, as against the idols that they had worshiped; he announced to them Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, crucified on behalf of sinners, and risen from the dead; and he exhorted them to believe in Christ as the Savior of men. But he did not enjoin circumcision, or the keeping of the Sabbath or the other sacred days of the Jews, nor did he enforce his exhortation to morality by appeal to the authority of the Old Testament law. It was a religion of the spirit, and a morality grounded in this religion, that he preached and the Galatians accepted.

To those who came after Paul in Galatia this teaching was fatally defective. They were conscientious legalists, who believed that the will of God was expressed in the statutes of the Old Testament, and that divine approval was to be gained by strict obedience to these statutes. Approaching the Galatians at what was perhaps their most susceptible point of attack, they had induced them to take up the observance of days and weeks and months. Simultaneously with their successful efforts in this direction, or successively, but up to the writing of the letter, at least, unsuccessfully, they had endeav-

ored to persuade the Galatians to accept circumcision. It is not difficult to reproduce their argument. The Christ whom Paul preached was sent to the covenant people of God, and in fulfilment of promises made to them. Participation in the covenant was conditioned, so the Old Testament clearly taught, on the acceptance of circumcision. It was easy to allege that Paul's gospel was a tower without a foundation, the end without the beginning. Faith was good, but in the order of personal experience circumcision comes before faith, and after it comes obedience to law.

The doctrine of legalism Paul himself had once held; but while to his opponents faith in Jesus was but an appendix to the really fundamental part of their religion, which was legalistic through and through, the experience which had led Paul to become a believing disciple, and eventually an apostle of Christ, had led him also to the total rejection of legalism.

Into the intricacies of the arguments on both sides, which disclose themselves to the careful student of this letter, it is not the purpose of this paper to enter. Suffice it to say that *in principle* the conflict was between a religion of authority, i.e., the authority of the past as expressed in sacred books and the tradition of the church, and the religion of experience including even that of living men; *in substance* the issue was between a religion fundamentally physical and a religion essentially spiritual and ethical. It is this latter aspect of the matter which is clearly set forth in the pregnant utterance of Gal. 5:6, "In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith working through love." It is the exposition of this sentence that is the specific task of this paper.

"In Christ Jesus": The phrase is characteristically Pauline. Jesus Christ was for Paul the image of God, the Son of God, toward whom faith in God is directed, in whom it

finds its object, and in fellowship with whom man enters into fellowship with God. So intimate is the relation of the believer with Christ that to speak of Christ as living in the believer, and the believer in Christ, is to use language none too strong for the apostle's thought. We may perhaps paraphrase the expression in the words, "in the religion of Jesus Christ," or "to the believer in Christ Jesus," but neither phrase quite adequately interprets it.

"Neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision": That the apostle affirms the valuelessness of circumcision to the believer in Christ illustrates how thoroughly he had repudiated the legalistic principle and the authority of the Old Testament strictly interpreted. For, as already pointed out, the Old Testament distinctly states that circumcision is the seal of the covenant between God and his people and that he who will not receive it shall be cut off from his people because he has broken God's covenant. Back of all the statutes for which the name of Moses stood voucher, and presupposed in them all, was this rite, which went back even to the days of Abraham, where it had been made the indispensable and perpetual seal of God's covenant of grace. Yet for Paul not only had this primal rite become without authority; he could even declare the acceptance of it by a Gentile to be a denial of Christ and severance of relation to him.

But the apostle adds, "nor uncircumcision." Repudiation of the statute, in itself, then, has no value. Rejection of authority has no virtue; this lies in what takes its place. In itself anti-legalism is as unavailing as legalism.

"But faith": In this we reach the positive element of the apostle's assertion, and one of the most central terms of his thought. What, then, is faith? Taken in its lowest terms, in its simplest form, stripped of all that is local or temporary, it is the practical acceptance of that which authenticates it-

self as the will and thought of God. "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness"; and to this assertion of the Old Testament the apostle appeals in more than one epistle to show the antiquity of the revelation of faith as the basis of the divine approval. The actual content, intellectually speaking, of Abraham's faith is of so little consequence that no reference is made to it. What came to him with the assurance on his part that it was from God, to this he yielded assent of mind and will. Openness of mind to the divine revelation, whatever its content, and response of will—this is faith.

If this be faith, one cannot doubt that it has existed in many a land, in many an age—shall we dare to say, in every land, in every age? The sheik of the desert who became the pattern of faith and the father of the faithful is not the only man that has had an open mind and a responsive will; nor did the apostle think that Abraham was a solitary example of faith. The class of those who "by patient continuance in good works seek for glory and honor and incorruption" is not an imaginary one in his thought, nor is it confined to men of Abrahamic descent.

But if this be faith according to its fundamental nature, it is evident that it must be capable of ever-enlarging horizon, and of demanding ever larger response of will. In particular, if Jesus is the Son of God, in whom we see the light of the glory of God, faith confronted by that revelation must accept this also, and the soul must respond and the life become conformed to the demand which such revelation makes. If, moreover, this revelation be made not only, as it was to the Twelve, in the Christ that walked in Galilee and suffered in Jerusalem, but in the ever-living spirit of Christ, which is the spirit of God, and if with this spirit of Christ there be possible a fellowship of the human spirit which purifies, inspires, and

empowers, then faith may grow, and ought to grow, into such fellowship, so that he who believes may say, as Paul said, "It is no longer I that live, but Christ that liveth in me, and the life that I now live in the flesh I live by faith upon the Son of God." This is what faith had become for Paul. Doubtless the language is that of one in whom there was something of the spirit of the mystic. But we cannot doubt that the experience was real, in Paul's case and in many another. However touched with emotion may be the language in which the believer speaks of his faith, however vague the definition of it in his mind, the experience itself still conforms to the fundamental idea of faith. It is the purpose and effort to assimilate in thought and life that which comes to the soul bringing with it the assurance that it is the revelation of God.

But where, on this conception of faith, it may be asked, is the soul's guaranty against misinterpretation or even deception? How can it be assured that the seeming revelation is really such, or that its meaning is what it seems to be? Absolute guaranty, it must be answered, there is none. The manifoldness of the interpretations that have been put upon the life and teaching of Christ are sufficient evidence of this. Even the Twelve whom Jesus chose to be his most trusted companions but imperfectly apprehended him. Faith does not give infallibility. It cannot guarantee the correctness of each believer's interpretation of his experience. But neither is its religious effectiveness, or its right to be, dependent on such correctness. If, as in the apostle's day, the fruit of faith is seen in love, joy, and peace, these strongly testify that it has, however mysteriously, laid hold upon the deep realities of life, the sources of power in life.

"Working through love": The joining of faith and love is not particularly unusual, but the apostle has nowhere else set them in precisely the relation which this phrase implies.

And at first sight there is something paradoxical in this relation. *Faith* is the attitude of the soul toward God and his revelation of himself. By *love* the apostle doubtless means an attitude toward men; for a little later in this chapter he enjoins the Galatians "by love to serve one another," and adds that all the law is fulfilled in one word, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. To love is then to recognize the fact that the welfare of others is as really a thing of value as one's own, and to desire to promote that welfare equally with one's own. It is the losing of one's individual self in the larger social self; not the ignoring of one's own well-being, as if it were of no consequence—for if it be not of value, then that of others is also worthless—but the devotion of one's self to the welfare of one's community, be that community large or small. It is in such love as this that Paul finds the solution of all the ethical problems of life. We are one body; let each live as a member of the body, seeking the welfare of the body, not each member his own.

But love, the apostle implies, is the product of faith, and through it faith finds expression. For this is the meaning of the words, "faith working through love." Though the expression is unusual, the apostle's own statements about faith and love suggest the explanation. Faith so allies the soul of the believer with Christ that it is no longer he that lives, but Christ that lives in him. But the principle of Jesus' life is love, as the apostle repeatedly declares; love must then become dominant in the life of the believer also. It comes to the same thing when, in 5:22, the apostle sets forth first in the list of those things that constitute the fruit of the Spirit, love. For the life of faith in Christ is a life of fellowship with the Spirit, the life of one who lives by the Spirit, is led by the Spirit, walks by the Spirit. Faith, therefore, as the apostle here conceives of it, is the radical element of the life of the Christian;

from this root, or rather, from the union of the soul with God which it effects, there springs that love which is itself first among the fruits of the Spirit, and becomes in turn the root and source of the others. "The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control." And these things cannot but be found in the life of him in whose soul there is the faith that works through love.

This, then, is the apostle's conception of the Christian life: a soul open to the fulness of God's revelation of himself; a life transfused with, and transformed by, the sense of fellowship with the God whose love toward men and whose will respecting men have been supremely revealed in Jesus Christ; a life of loving service of one's fellow-men, of devotion to their welfare, which finds its source and its inspiration in this sense of fellowship with him who is the supreme member of the body of which we all are parts.

But is such a life practicable in this day and age of the world? We shall readily grant that it is superior to the other two types of life of which the apostle speaks in this chapter, the life controlled by the passions of the flesh, and the life under law. Even though, with the apostle, we take the term "flesh" as standing, not simply for the appetites that find their seat and stimulus in the animal nature, but as including all the forces that we comprehend under the term selfishness, yet it is still true that the works of the flesh are debasing and degrading, and that he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption. Nor can it be thought that the highest type of human life is achieved by the endeavor to obey a code of rules, however complete and lofty these rules may be. Legalism has its elements of strength; it is vastly superior to the life of surrender to the impulses of the flesh. Yet there is something far better than legalism. To Paul, who had lived a

life of such perfection as is attainable under legalism, the entrance into the life in Christ was an emergence from the darkness of slavery into the light of freedom. The ideal life is not one of bondage, either to the impulses to evil that are a part of our inheritance from the past history of the race, or even to a code of laws, however good. There must be in it an element of spontaneity and freedom; it must be the joyous expression of an energy that has its source and perennial spring within, a power divine, yet resident in the soul itself.

But the question arises, and it is a natural one, whether civilization and organized society do not demand of the individual that he shall conform his conduct to certain common rules of action, and that he follow these even when they do not seem to be expressive of any general moral principle. Does he not then of necessity come again under law? This is certainly true; and it is one of the first things that a man impelled by the spirit of love and seeking to serve the community will discover. Even aside from those things which are in themselves necessary to the good of the community, such as truthfulness, honesty in commercial transactions and in the payment of taxes, there are not a few things in which the public good demands a certain measure of uniformity of action. In London the cab driver must turn to the left; in New York, to the right. No man can escape the necessity of obeying many statutory requirements; no man who desires the welfare of the community, to say nothing of his own, will wish to escape. The freedom of the Christian man means not disregard of the law of the land, or of any of the things for which love to one's neighbor calls; but, on the one hand, a joyous doing of these things because they are the natural expressions of the life-principle of love, and on the other, freedom from bondage to any statutes handed down from ancient times

which, however useful in the past, no longer serve the interests of mankind.

But there is a more fundamental element in our question whether the life of faith working through love is practicable today. It is respecting the element of faith and the possibility of a real fellowship of the human soul with God that in many minds the gravest doubt will arise. Few earnest-minded men will question that we ought to love our fellow-men, or that a life devoted to the welfare of the community is both possible and ennobling. But can such a life of service to men find its source and spring in a conscious, joyous, fellowship with God? This question touches, of course, the deepest, most vital element of Paul's conception. Losing this, we lose the very heart of that type of life of which we have been speaking.

Is then the life of faith, the life of the Spirit, the fellowship of the human soul with the eternal Spirit of Christ, really possible? Let us remind ourselves that we are not speaking of visions and revelations. These entered into Paul's experience; but they are not of the essence of the life of the Spirit. Nor do we mean the surrender of the soul to vague impressions, though these be dignified by the title, "voices of the Spirit." The life of faith rests, not on these, but on the firm conviction that God is, and that to the soul that desires to know his thought and to do his will and is ready to employ all the powers of the mind in the effort to learn that thought and will, he is a God who reveals himself. Through ancient Scripture and the example of the Christ; through counsel of parent, friend, and teacher; in the response of one's own best and deepest self to the call of circumstance and opportunity, the revelation comes. The invisible things of God are perceived through the things that are made, and the duty of the individual is discoverable through the interpretation of the events that happen about him and to him. So it was with

Paul; so it is with every soul that will receive the revelation thus made. The sensualist suppresses it; the rebellious man defies it; the wilful man perverts it; the ill-balanced mind, longing for the visible vision and the audible revelation, distorts it even at times into a very voice of Satan; but to every soul it comes, and the sober, earnest soul finds in it the guide of life. And not only guidance, but power, also; for he who is led by the Spirit also lives by the Spirit, and in his life there appears the fruit of the Spirit.

"As many as are led by the Spirit of God these are sons of God," and to be led by the Spirit of God is not impossible. Mysterious it may be, as all the great things of life are mysterious. But throughout the centuries, before the coming of the Christ and since, multitudes of men and women have lived the life of faith and found its fruit to be love, joy, and peace. Our interpretation of the experience, the language in which we describe it, may vary, and, what is more significant, may react to modify the type of the experience itself; but the experience is real, and the effects of it in life are unmistakable. Faith works through love. Christian morality has its roots in religion; and the religion of faith bears its fruit in love. To this truth, so tersely expressed by Paul, so thoroughly attested in centuries of experience, this practical age needs supremely to give heed.

V

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF PAULINISM[5]

PAUL was not a theologian of the closet. Before his conversion to Christianity he had been a zealous promoter of the Jewish religion as he understood it. The experience that made him a follower of Jesus was a profound one, radically modifying his thought and life in important ways and powerfully affecting his character. But it did not change him in this respect of which we are now speaking, except to intensify characteristics that were already present. As a Christian he was still not primarily a theologian, but a missionary. Theology was a by-product of the laboratory of personal experience and missionary work. In his effort to win men to faith in Jesus the Christ and to build up churches of believers he was frequently called upon to deal with questions of profound interest and of far-reaching consequence. These questions had to do with theological thought or with the practical side of the religious life. Once raised, he dealt with them courageously, profoundly, and with far-seeing vision. Yet it may fairly be doubted whether, in the midst of his strenuous life, he always saw just how far the positions which he was led to adopt would carry him if they were followed to the full length of their logical consequences. Now and then he surprises us by the boldness with which he accepts the consequences of his premises, and not infrequently commands our admiration by the splendid sweep of his thinking. Sometimes the implications of his thought, though unexpressed, lie so obviously in his affirmations that it is impossible to doubt that

[5] An article published in the *Biblical World* (December, 1912).

they were in his mind. But in other cases the less obvious character of the implication and the existence of affirmations of a different character make one hesitate to affirm that he saw all that seems to us to be involved in what he clearly said.

It becomes necessary, therefore, in our interpretation of Paulinism, to distinguish on the one hand the things that Paul says or that are so clearly involved as premise or consequence of what he has said that it is necessary to suppose that he held them as elements of his conscious thinking, and on the other hand those things which, though they are to us the necessary consequences or implication of what he expressly says, may not have been so regarded by him.

Progress of thought is in no small measure achieved precisely by the process of unfolding the implications of propositions accepted without perceiving these implications. It is so in individual life, and in the intellectual life of the race. One accepts today a certain doctrine or view of life, and stops there. A year later, ten years later, he perceives that this necessarily involves another doctrine or view of life, and marvels that he did not see it when he first accepted the doctrine in which it was wrapped up. A generation fights its intellectual battle, with stress and strain and conflict formulates its conclusions, and drives down a new stake on the frontier of its thought. It is a notable victory. And then men settle back for a period of rest. It is another generation, with fresh access of vigor and courage, that finds wrapped up in this new doctrine, now grown old, implications that the originators of it never saw and possibly would have vigorously denied.

This process makes for progress in two ways. Sometimes the new doctrine, which, though implicated in the old one, was at first unseen, becoming explicit, is accepted, and the world is by so much the richer. Sometimes the implication is seen to be impracticable of acceptance, and because of this the

original dogma is re-examined and at length modified, and progress is made not so much by addition as by correction.

The purpose of this paper is, against the background of certain propositions clearly held and affirmed by Paul, to set forth certain implications of Paulinism which we cannot affirm that Paul himself held, but which seem to be necessarily involved in what he held and said, and to raise the question whether we ought to accept these and add them to our stock of ideas, or, because of their manifold erroneousness, turn back and correct the Pauline teachings in which they are implied. We begin with:

I. ELEMENTS OF THE APOSTOLIC THINKING CLEARLY AFFIRMED BY HIM

1. The central elements of the Old Testament religion—faith toward God and love to one's neighbor—are permanent elements of true religion, and, as such, vital elements of the Christian religion. They are the core of the Old Testament law, and because of that fact and in that sense the law is of permanent validity and authority. "For ye, brethren, were called for freedom; only use not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh, but through love be servants one to another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

2. The law, however, is, even when thus defined, not so much an obligation imposed from without as the definition of an ideal to be realized by the operation of a force working from within. That force is the power of the indwelling spirit of God, the Christ within the soul. "Walk by the Spirit and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh. . . . . If ye are led by the Spirit ye are not under law."

3. More specifically, the observance of the Sabbath and the other festival and fast days of the Jewish religious calen-

dar is not obligatory for non-Jewish Christians. The practice is, indeed, dangerous on their part, being calculated to cultivate a legalistic type of thought and feeling and to obscure the supreme value of faith and love. "Ye observe days and months and seasons and years. I am afraid of you lest by any means I have bestowed labor upon you in vain."

4. A Gentile may become a Christian in the fullest sense of the word without coming in through the door of Jewish proselytism. He is under no obligation to be circumcised, nor is this necessary in order to share to the full in the salvation that is through Christ. Indeed, for such a one to receive circumcision is equivalent to a repudiation of Christ and his Gospel, and involves the danger of losing all the blessing and benefit that the Gospel brings. "If ye receive circumcision Christ shall profit you nothing." This is not, of course, because of any inherently harmful effect of circumcision—"In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision"—but because its acceptance under the conditions then existing involved the adoption of that legalistic type of religion, the futility and utterly disappointing character of which Paul had already fully proved by experience and confirmed by much observation.

5. The Jewish Christian is at liberty to continue the observance of the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish religion as long as he does so under circumstances which do not constitute such observance an attempt to impose them upon the Gentile. But when the observance of them on the part of the Jewish Christian involves the demand that the gentile Christian shall also adopt them, the Jewish Christian himself not only may, but must, cease to observe them. The apostle could tolerate any honest belief and practice except intolerance and coercion. This attitude on his part is clearly exhibited in his treatment of Peter at Antioch. He insisted strenuously that

if Peter came to Antioch and mingled with the members of the Judeo-gentile Christian church, then he must not by word or by his own example put pressure upon the Gentiles to compel them to keep the law.

These several propositions of the apostle's teaching may be summed up as follows: A clear distinction must be made between the ethical and religious principles of the Old Testament religion and its statutes or specific instructions. The former are of permanent validity. The latter are not, as such, binding on any enlightened conscience. In so far as one obeys them he should do so, not because of any authority in the statute, but because the permanent principles of religion and the spirit of God in the soul require the same things which the statute demands. A naturalized citizen may in some instances act in accordance with the laws of the country whose allegiance he has forsworn; but he does not do so because the law of that country enjoins such action. So the Christian may and should abstain from certain things forbidden by Old Testament statutes, but not because these statutes forbid them. Morality, whether for Jew or Gentile, is to be achieved not by obedience to statutes, but by the apprehension of principles and their application to existing problems and situations, and even more by following the impelling and guiding impulse of the indwelling spirit of God. The attempt to subject the moral life to statutes is foolish, because it diverts the soul from those influences by which higher character can be most effectively and surely produced, and the attempt to enforce them upon the consciences of others is tyranny, forbidden by the spirit of Jesus.

So much, then, for the unmistakable teachings of the apostle. From these we may pass to consider some of the things which seem to be clearly implied in the apostle's teaching, but which are not expressly stated by him and were not, perhaps,

in all cases perceived or accepted by him. We may begin with the more obvious implications of his language, between which and the propositions already enumerated there is no very broad line of distinction. In the nature of the case it is impossible in general to quote words of the apostle in evidence that he held these views, since, by definition, these views were not expressed; perhaps not even consciously held by him, but were only implicit in what he held and expressed.

II. IMPLICATIONS OF THE APOSTLE'S EXPRESSED THOUGHT

1. *No part* of the Old Testament has, *as such,* authority over the Christian conscience. The affirmation that the principles of the Old Testament religion are of permanent validity, but that statutes which are there expressly affirmed to be permanently valid are not in fact so, and, indeed, must no longer be obeyed, involves an attitude of discrimination and an exercise of critical moral judgment which implies that the evidence of authority is found somewhere else than in the fact that the principle or statute is found in the Old Testament. In other words, the principles which are accepted as permanently valid are so accepted, not because of their presence in the Old Testament or because they are there affirmed to be permanently valid. For on either ground it would be equally necessary to affirm the permanent validity of the very statutes whose validity Paul expressly denies.

2. Spiritual needs take precedence over physical rites. The religion of Christ, true religion, is essentially spiritual. It demands physical expression, but no physical rite is essential to it. Circumcision, though affirmed in the Old Testament to be of perpetual validity and a necessary condition of membership in the community of God's people, is not so in fact, and must cease when it comes to be an obstacle to a purely spiritual faith, or an occasion of dividing the church

of Christ. Logically, the same principle must apply to all physical rites. Better no ceremonies or altogether new ones than an ancient rite to which is ascribed regenerating power, or which, by dividing the Christian forces, imperils the progress of Christianity. Those who find in ceremonies help to their spiritual life may and should observe them, but not in such a way as to teach their essentialness, to exercise constraint on others of a different conscience, or to divide, and consequently weaken, the Christian forces.

It is possible that Paul himself would not have accepted what we are saying. But it still remains that his reasoning concerning circumcision would apply to all physical rites whose value for us is in their symbolism, not in any inherent power to produce a spiritual change.

3. There must be a large measure of tolerance in the Christian church. We might perhaps have placed this proposition in the preceding list, so clearly does Paul hold it. Vigorously opposing legalism, he yet devoted much energy and time to keeping legalists and non-legalists together in the Christian church and in harmonious relations one with another. Not all the followers of Christ can move with equal rapidity or find the largest measure of help in exactly the same form of organization or of worship. Neither those who cling to old views and institutions nor those who find a larger measure of truth in new views or helpfulness in new forms and institutions have the right to dictate to the other party their beliefs or their conduct. Yet toleration is not an end in itself. Progress toward truth and the development of human character, the improvement of human life, are the ends for the attainment of which toleration is a helpful means. If ritualism and the legalism which Paul so passionately rejected furnish to any group of people a better expression of truth and a better aid to the spiritual life than simpler forms of

worship and freer conceptions of religion and ethics, it is not for those who hold the latter views to denounce or disfellowship those who hold the former. "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything, but faith working through love." The sentence which the apostle uttered in passionate opposition to the attempt of the legalists to force their legalism upon the non-legalists equally forbids the non-legalist to adopt an intolerant attitude toward the legalist.

4. The supreme attestation of religious authority lies, not in a book nor in a church, but in the growing experience of religious men. It was in his own experience and in his observation of the experience of others that the apostle found warrant for setting aside the theology of current orthodoxy, and not only statutes which the ancient Scriptures affirmed to be of perpetual validity, but the whole principle of statutory religion. How far he was willing to grant to others the right which he himself exercised is not, perhaps, wholly clear; but the principle implicit in his conduct is that to men of experience and insight in each generation belongs the task of discriminating among the utterances of the prophets and sages of the past and present, and of accepting and teaching the things which, whether old or new, verify themselves in the laboratory of experience. No utterance, however confidently put forth as a word of God or affirmed to be of perpetual validity, is final in the sense that none who come after may contest it, if, tried in the crucible of experience, it fails to stand the test; no rite or ceremony can claim continued observance when it has become an obstacle to spiritual progress or has ceased to be religiously valuable. The principle of leadership must indeed be recognized both as respects men of the past and of the present. The teachings of the great thinkers and prophets of the past must always be held in re-

spect and set aside only for adequate cause clearly shown. The process of sifting and judging the old, as well as of bringing forth the new, must always belong primarily to the men of insight, experience, and deep religious life. But the fact of leadership and the relation of leaders and followers can never wholly destroy personal responsibility. Even the humblest man must decide at least whose leadership he will follow, and the tribunal that judges authorities is, in the last analysis, set up in the human soul. The whole principle of authority-theology is in conflict with the implications of Paulinism. Nor priest, nor prophet, nor book can wholly relieve each new generation, or even each human soul, of the responsibility of recognizing for itself the voice of truth and God.

5. The supreme need of the church in its search for truth and knowledge of duty is therefore not an authoritative creed or even an authoritative book, but a deep and ever-renewed and deepening spiritual life. The creed serves a useful purpose in giving clear definition to hazy thought, and, perhaps, in interposing a pause in otherwise too strenuous controversy. The books in which are recorded the experiences of the great and good of the past are of incalculable value, and should always not only be held in reverence, but diligently studied. Supremely valuable are the books of the Bible in which is preserved the record of the development of the highest and purest of all religions, and of the life and teachings of prophets and apostles and the Son of God. But no book, not even the books of the Bible, can take the place of the contemporary spiritual life. The supreme value of Jesus to the world is not in the books that were written about him, but the life that he lived and the stream of spiritual life which has flowed unbroken from him down to the present hour. "I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly." Without such life the books themselves

would be valueless. Where such life is, the books will be of immeasurable value in stimulating and developing it, and most effective when it is clearly perceived that, save in their disclosure of the supreme personality of Jesus, they exist, not to define the goal beyond which no progress can proceed, but rather to stimulate and inspire those who are endeavoring, on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, to build higher and better things than they attained.

6. The fundamental ideal of Christianity is not static perfection, but continual progress. It is of the very nature of the Christian religion that it is always in a process of evolution, and in this fact there lies the constant possibility, if not the certainty, that old elements will be left behind and new elements taken on. Change is not something foreign to the Christian religion; it is natural to it. It never seeks to break with the past; it never consents to be bound by it. It emerged from the Judaism of the first century, not by returning to any previous golden age, but by a forward step that left both past and present behind. It found its inspiration in no small measure in the best elements of ancient prophetism, but its watchword was "Forward, not Backward." If the men of the present day are to emulate the spirit of that age, they will return to the first age of the church to find the explanation of that marvelous forward step that was taken then, and to gather inspiration and instruction for their own problems. But we shall not expect to find either in Paulinism or in the early church a *ne plus ultra,* a standard by which to control our own thinking or to bind our own action. And if, indeed, we do approach the matter with the thought that here we shall find the essential and permanent elements of our religion, which must determine the course of the church for all time, then we shall discover that the ideal which was stamped upon Christianity at the beginning was not, "Back to the be-

ginning," but, "Forward, ever forward to the truest and best." And if we seek to follow what is deepest and most characteristic of that age, we shall, forgetting the things that are behind, press on to the highest possible.

In conclusion let one or two questions be raised respecting the practical applications of implicit Paulinism. And, since Paul was a missionary, let these questions pertain to the field of our foreign missionary work. If he were facing our missionary problems today, what would Paul do; if we are good Paulinists and follow out his principles to their legitimate conclusion what must we do in respect to ecclesiastical rites and ecclesiastical organization?

Must we not be ready to surrender either any particular form of baptism, or even baptism in any form if we find that it has become an obstacle in the way of spiritual religion or a hindrance to the progress of Christianity? Must we not maintain that the apostle's insistence upon the essentially spiritual character of religion is far stronger than the affirmation of the necessity of any rite or ceremony whatever, and that the principle that the most ancient and authoritative usages and rites must be surrendered when it comes to pass that they militate against the progress of Christianity, is a principle applicable to baptism, and ought to be applied whenever baptism comes to occupy in our world the position which circumcision held in Paul's day? The impulse toward the unification of the Christian forces in the great republic of China, for example, is a very strong one, and that such unification, if wisely effected, would make powerfully for the progress of Christianity at the most critical period in her history it is scarcely possible to doubt. Among the most serious obstacles to such unification are the conflicting doctrines and practices in respect to baptism prevalent among different bodies of Christians working in the country. May it not be

that the only way to escape the necessity of assuming toward baptism the attitude which Paul was constrained to take toward circumcision and the eating of "unclean" meats is in a cordial spirit of mutual tolerance of one another's differing practices? It may be well if, in view of this possibility, we all turn back to make a fresh study of the New Testament.

Ought not each denomination to stand ready to modify its form of church organization if it becomes evident that another form would be more conducive to the progress of the Christian religion, or, perhaps, retaining its own form, be prepared to incorporate its own organization in a larger Christian body which shall include all the followers of Christ in any land, if it is apparent that by such means the Gospel of Jesus will more rapidly and effectively permeate and control the life of the nation?

Finally, shall we not be prepared definitely and of intention to present to non-Christian peoples a simplified Christian message which, eliminating all that is peripheral, local or accidental, shall put all emphasis on the central and vital elements of our religion, and shall leave it to the nations to whom we bring the Gospel to develop their own special type of religious life, theology, and ecclesiastical organization?

VI

THOSE TROUBLE-MAKERS IN GALATIA[6]

THE EPISTLE of the apostle Paul to the churches of Galatia is the beginning of the controversial literature of the Christian church. The letters to the Thessalonians are comforting, corrective, edificatory. The letter to the Galatians is polemic. It deals with opponents, and deals with them sharply. It denounces them as false brethren, spies in the Christian community; expresses the wish that they would "cut themselves off," and pronounces an anathema on them.

Who were these mischief-makers in the early Christian church with whom, as this letter shows, Paul came into conflict in Jerusalem and Antioch and Galatia, and, as the letters to the Corinthian church show, in Corinth also? And what was the essence of their heresy?

The letter itself tells us very plainly, though for the most part incidentally. Paul was himself the first preacher of the Gospel in Galatia, and he preached there the same Gospel for which he afterward contended so strenuously at Jerusalem and elsewhere. He had been reared a Pharisee, but his acceptance of Jesus as the Christ carried with it a thorough repudiation of Pharisaic legalism and a clear conviction that the Gospel of Jesus Christ must be wholly separated from the demands of the law. The salvation that is in Jesus he offered to Gentiles, not on condition that they should become disciples of Moses, children of Abraham by circumcision, but sole-

[6] An article published in the *Biblical World* (September, 1919). It is of interest to note that this article was written when Dr. Burton was bringing to completion his *magnum opus*, the *Commentary on Galatians*.

ly on condition of faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God. He did not require circumcision, although the Old Testament clearly said that without circumcision men could not become participants in the covenant with God. He did not demand obedience to the law, but only faith and love. Times and places of worship the new converts undoubtedly had, but the Sabbath, as such, and other Jewish days they were not taught by Paul to observe. In short, Paul proposed to his converts no body of legalistic requirements, required of them no passing through a vestibule of legalism or Judaism in order to enter into the fulness of the Gospel, but introduced them at once into the large liberty of the sons of God.

Why he did this we can infer from his letter. His own experience under law had convinced him of its futility as a means of bringing men into right relation to God. "We have learned," he says to Peter, "that a man is not justified by works of law . . . . for by works of law no living being can be justified." By his experience under law he had "died to law." The law, which had been a failure in his case, despite the fact that he had made the utmost possible use of it, having advanced in the Jews' religion beyond the other young Pharisees of his day, having been more exceedingly jealous than they for the doctrines and practices of that religion which they had inherited from their fathers, he could no longer conscientiously impose upon others. The discipline which had failed to bring him to God, which he had, indeed, been obliged to abandon in order to devote his life to God, he could not demand that others should undergo.

It is true, indeed, that Paul saw a certain value in the law as a factor in the experience of the race. It had played its divinely appointed part in human history. But it belonged to the childhood of the race, and that period of childhood was over. What the race had learned by centuries of experience

the individual did not need to learn by repeating that experience in his own person. Nor did the Gentiles need to repeat the experience of the Jews and sojourn in the wilderness of the law before entering into the privileges of the Gospel. For not only was the experience of the Jew an open book from which they might learn, but they also had themselves been through their period of bondage, and had no need to pass through another, which, though different in detail, would be of essentially the same kind as that through which they had already passed.

To the uncircumcised Galatians, therefore, who had believed in Jesus, he declared that they were already sons of God by their faith in Christ Jesus; that so far from circumcision benefiting them in any way, they would lose all benefit from Christ if they accepted it, and he warned them not to forego their liberty by coming under the yoke of bondage to the law. He denounced those who wished to have Titus circumcised as spies who had sneaked into the church to take away from believers their liberty in Christ Jesus and rob them of the truth in Christ. Even the observance of the Sabbath and other Jewish days he regarded with alarm.

This Gospel without law the Galatians had received with eagerness and joy. The apostle who brought it to them was an angel of God, despite the fact that he was, or had recently been, ill, and was in some way repulsive to them. They accepted Christian baptism; the Pentecost experience was repeated, the Holy Spirit coming upon them and giving evidence of his presence and power by miracles wrought among them, and, probably, by them.

Now to a certain part of the Christian community all this was extremely distasteful and alarming. It is, indeed, important to notice that this element was not the strictly primitive element. There is evidence to show that the first Palestinian

followers of Jesus, while retaining their place in the Jewish community and sharing in the temple worship as of old, were yet not opposed to the acceptance of the Gospel of Jesus by Gentiles or disposed to insist upon their coming into subjection to all the requirements of the law. Paul's own pre-conversion persecution of the Christians probably had its chief incentive in this liberal attitude on the part of the followers of the Nazarene. And in this letter he says that the churches of Judea glorified God when they heard of his work in Syria and Cilicia, though in all probability this work was of the same general character as that which he afterward did in Galatia.

But things had changed at Jerusalem. To the older element of simple-minded Galileans, now become apostles, there had recently been added a group of people who, accepting the Messiahship of Jesus, had retained with full Pharisaic intensity their belief in the law and wished to enforce its requirements with all rigor and strictness in respect both to Jews and Gentiles in the church.

The basis of their claim is easy to see. Though we have no letter from them and no record of their speeches, Paul's answer to them in the third chapter of this letter makes it clear that they planted themselves on the permanent authority of the Old Testament. Their whole argument may very well have been based on the seventeenth chapter of Genesis, and if their premise that the Old Testament is of permanent authority be granted, there is no escape from their conclusion. The Scripture says expressly that "if any man will not receive circumcision, he shall be cut off from my people; he hath broken my covenant." And it further affirms that this requirement is perpetual.

Evidently the Jerusalem apostles were somewhat perplexed by the arguments of these recently added members of

the church. Probably they were residents of Jerusalem. Very likely they were of a rather higher class of society than the former Galilean fishermen, Peter and James and John. Not improbably they had received the education of the Jerusalem schools; and Peter and his fellow-apostles, who had never enjoyed these advantages, were somewhat at a loss to know what to say. Jesus, to be sure, had never been a strict legalist, but apparently also he had not discussed the matter in detail. On the question of circumcising gentile Christians, at any rate, they had no specific word of the Lord. And so the new Pharisaic members of the community, of whose accession the Christians were at first perhaps rather proud, began to have things their way. With or without the consent of the apostles, they sent a delegation to Antioch to protest against the loose practices of the Christian community. This led to the conference at Jerusalem, the outcome of which was that the Jerusalem apostles, though at first, out of consideration for the Jerusalem legalists, they urged Paul to make concessions in the matter of the circumcision of the Gentiles, finally came out on Paul's side, and conceded that he should be recognized as the apostle of the Gospel to gentile lands, while they would continue to preach among the Jews.

But this compromise did not really go to the heart of the problem, and in the subsequent incident at Antioch, in order to hold what he had gained at Jerusalem, Paul found himself forced to go into the matter more deeply and take a more radical position, affirming not only that the law was not to be enforced in reference to the Gentiles, but that it must not be observed by the Jewish Christians under conditions such as existed at Antioch where observance of it by the Jews would have either divided the church or forced the Gentiles also to keep the law.

Meanwhile the Christian legalists continued their agita-

tion and propaganda, deterred neither by the conference at Jerusalem nor by the incident at Antioch. Convinced that they were right and Paul wrong, with the Scriptures clearly on their side, they could not let matters rest. No mere agreement of the apostles, in which they had been overruled, could prevent their doing their utmost to reconvert Paul's churches to orthodox faith, which, while accepting Jesus as the Messiah, was in all other respects pure and simple Pharisaic Judaism.

They sent their missionaries to Galatia, pointed out to the Galatian Christians the inadequacy of Paul's gospel, its non-conformity to the Old Testament teaching, and actually persuaded them to begin the practice of some of the requirements of the law. They tactfully abstained from insisting on the whole law, but when the matter came to the knowledge of Paul they were on the point of succeeding in inducing the Galatians to adopt circumcision. This result, if it had been achieved, would have been, from Paul's point of view, a repudiation and abandonment of the Gospel itself, a forsaking of Christ, a return to bondage; and in haste and with intensity of feeling he wrote this letter to avert such a disaster.

What, then, was the real point at issue between Paul and the legalistic missionaries from Jerusalem? What did these people on whom he pronounced his anathema really stand for, and what was his contention as against them?

The heart of the matter is this: Paul stood for the principle of progress in religion on the basis of an ever-renewed interpretation of human experience. His opponents stood for the principle that what had been for the prophets of centuries ago the final truth, and had found its place in the Scriptures, is fixed and binding for all time and all nations.

Paul had grown up under this legalistic conception of

religion. When he became a follower of Jesus he repudiated it, and adopted instead the principle that present-day convictions and present-day practice are to be based on all past experience, including not only that which was the basis of the teaching of canonized Scripture, but also the experience of succeeding generations and of living men. Paul's own experience under law had convinced him beyond a doubt that, as a method of attaining character and the divine approval, legalism in all its forms was a failure, and the imposition of it on Gentiles, a crime against religion. He had found that in his own case faith in Christ, which takes no account of statute as such, accomplished what the law could not do, in that it gave peace with God and generated love toward men. He had also discovered by experiment and observation that faith accomplished the same results in an uncircumcised and unlegalized Gentile as in himself, who had had all the advantages that Jewish blood and circumcision and conformity to law could confer.

Yet Paul's strong conviction and vigorous polemic against his opponents did not mean intolerance. It was his opponents who insisted on uniformity of belief and practice for all, and endeavored to proselyte Paul's converts to their own view. Against this effort the apostle vigorously protested. But he never retaliated. Except as an incident of the defense of the liberty of the Gentile, he never sought to force his view on the Jewish Christians and never invaded the territory of the pillar apostles. Differences of opinion he seemed to expect and to accept with equanimity. His whole contention was against the attempt of his opponents to force their judgments upon him and his gentile Christians. The one thing he could not tolerate was intolerance.

In short, Paul was an evolutionist in religion, in effect accepting the principle that religion is always in the making

under the guidance of a divine spirit, always guiding men into truth through the interpretation of the ever-increasing experience of the race. Differences of opinion and practice between different periods and between people of the same period are normal. Authority was, for him, not in a book, or a church, or a creed, but in the thought of God as that is discovered by the courageous interpretation of the experience of men. Faith and love were for him the vital elements of religion, not obedience to law. On the other hand, his opponents believed that religion is a static thing; that the last word concerning it had been spoken when the canon of Scripture was closed. Ancient prophecies might find fulfilment in later times. Scribes might build a hedge about the law and add the hedge to the law. But nothing once announced by a prophet or lawgiver whose utterances had found place in sacred Scripture could thereafter be superseded by larger light or the perception of a deeper insight. Revelation has ceased. The book is closed. The law rules. Henceforth men can but reaffirm what their fathers of long ago learned.

Who are the present-day successors of Paul's opponents? Who stand today for the principles for which Paul contended? Who make religion a thing of statutes and words? Who insist that all must conform to the beliefs and practices of former ages? Who hold religion to be still in the making under the guidance of a God who worketh even until now? Do you stand with Paul, or with those mischief-makers in Galatia who, he said, were seeking to rob the church of the truth in Christ?

VII

JESUS AND PAUL[1]

THE BIRTH of Christianity is one of the great events of the history of the world, comparable for sheer magnitude of influence with such major events as Alexander's conquest, the invention of printing, and the discovery of America.

1. I speak of it as a birth, and, I think, properly so; for it undoubtedly came in a genealogical line of succession. It was not an event which, like the appearance of a comet, breaks suddenly and without antecedents into the succession of events, and, passing, leaves no marks behind. It had its antecedents in the long line of Hebrew prophets and the long centuries of Hebrew religious thought, and it has had its consequents in the history of the Christian movement and in the religious life of the world. Yet when we speak thus, setting the event in its historical relationships, we must not, by the use of genealogical language, belittle the significance of the facts. It is not a slight rise of ground in an otherwise flat plain; it is not a mountain peak that lifts itself by a few feet above the level of the other peaks of the range. It is a great event that has profoundly, and, we must believe, permanently affected the history of the race.

2. Every such event has, if we can discern them, its more remote and its immediate antecedents, its long-prepared preparations, and its immediate causes. Speaking from the former point of view, one may discuss the preparation of the

[1] A lecture delivered at Mount Holyoke College, November 18, 1922. This lecture, prepared at the close of Professor Burton's teaching career, epitomizes in a popular manner certain phases of his New Testament research.

world for Christianity in the long line of Hebrew prophecy, law, and wisdom, and in all the life of the Roman empire. It is, however, the other point of view that I wish to consider at this time. Speaking from that point of view, I am sure that we must name as the two great personal forces to whom Christianity owes its existence and that impetus which has carried it down the centuries, Jesus of Nazareth and Paul of Tarsus. Other men there were who played no mean part in that eventful period. There was John the Baptist, who courageously broke with the nationalistic Pharisaism of his day and anticipated Paul in dealing with religion on a broader human basis, but the effectiveness of whose work was marred by his emphasis on judgment and destruction rather than on salvation. There was Peter: impulsive, heroic, warm-hearted, but having neither the clearness of vision nor the steadfastness of purpose to make him a great leader. There was the great unknown author of the First Gospel, and the great unknown author of the Fourth Gospel, each of whom dealt with the difficulties of his day and group with masterly skill, yet both of whom were defenders of the faith rather than creators. The creative factors in the Christian movement were Jesus and Paul.

3. These two great leaders were, in important ways, much alike. They were born at about the same time; Paul, not more, probably less, than ten years younger than Jesus. Both were Jews, and though Jesus was born and grew up in Palestine, and Paul, in Tarsus of Cilicia, yet there was much less difference in their early environment than this geographical fact might suggest. For the youth of both was spent in a pious Jewish family in which, whatever the surroundings, the atmosphere was one of old-fashioned faith in Hebrew, rather than Hellenistic Hebraism. Both, we are led to believe, were from youth of the religious type of mind, boys in

whose minds the thought of God and of their relationship to him early took a large place, and was welcomed rather than repelled. We have no such story of Paul's youth as that which the gospel of Luke gives us concerning Jesus' visit to Jerusalem when he was twelve years old; and probably there could have been no incident exactly like that in Paul's experience; yet the difference may well have been not that the thought of God filled a smaller place in Paul's thinking, but that his thought about God would have been more austere and severe than was that of Jesus. To both there came at about thirty years of age a great moment when all the forces of life, so to speak, came to a head in a great experience and a great decision that shaped all the rest of life and determined the manner of even death itself.

4. On the other hand, there were almost as marked differences in their mental characteristics. We have, indeed, no record of the life of Jesus for the years from about twelve to about thirty, and we are obliged to infer the character of his mental life in this period almost wholly from the character of his utterances after he entered upon his public ministry. Yet this evidence, though it is indirect, seems clearly to show that his mind was perceptive and intuitive rather than argumentative and logical, and evolutionary rather than cataclysmic. By this I mean that Jesus reached his convictions not by a process of laborious argumentation, not by sudden reversal of former opinions, but gradually and without struggle, as the sunlight creeps up from the east till it covers the whole landscape. We gain at least no suggestion from his words of a period in his life when he suddenly and violently changed his convictions, or course of life; no cataclysmic conversion in any sense of the word, and we find no labored arguments to support his conclusions. His was, as I have said, a perceptive, intuitive, evolutionary mind.

Paul, on the other hand, was both laboriously argumentative and cataclysmic. Allowance must no doubt be made for the possibility that his letters represent rather his method of convincing his readers than the process by which he reached his conclusions originally. Yet they can but reflect, in a measure, the type of his mind, and must be taken as showing that it was of the reasoning rather than the intuitive type. Though it is often difficult to follow his course of thought, he always has one. It is no contradiction to this when we add that at least once in his life he underwent a cataclysmic change of thought—not, indeed, an event without antecedents, nor a change brought about mainly by impact from without, but nevertheless a sudden *bouleversement* when the accumulated weight of previous experience and thought suddenly swept away the dam that had till then confined his life, and turned its stream into a new and strange channel. Here, it would seem, he became for an hour intuitive; but, in place of the structure built up by thought and destroyed by intuition, thought again built up a new one, and his Christian thinking was, like that of his Pharisaic days, a structure, not complete, not wholly symmetrical, but nevertheless a structure.

One other difference between Jesus and Paul we may note, though this is perhaps rather the result of the accident of birth and early residence than of any inherent difference in the men themselves. Paul, who in his pre-Christian days was, despite his birth and childhood in the Hellenistic world, a Jewish nationalist, became, as the result of his cataclysmic conversion, a Christian citizen of the world, who thenceforth thought in terms of all nations. Jesus, who never lived outside of Palestine, and only once, so far as we know, even set foot outside Jewish territory, was characterized by broad human sympathies rather than by world-horizon. To him the

Jew was a man, and his message to him was as a man rather than as a Jew. We can believe, therefore, that had he lived among the Gentiles, his message to them would have been the same. Yet in fact he did not speak to them and rarely spoke of them.

5. Here then we have the interesting situation: two great religious thinkers, born not far apart in time, members of the same nation, heirs of the same religion, both profoundly religious, both with marked religious experience, but with different types of mind, with widely different experience, and, though contemporaries, with little or no personal contact with one another. How far did they agree in the convictions to which they came and which they endeavored to reproduce in their respective followers?

Both of them unified and summarized religion in love and faith, love toward God and men, and faith in God. This means that they both rejected the current legalism of their day and preached instead a religion of attitude toward other personalities. This is a matter of profound and far-reaching significance. There is a radical difference between the religion of dogma and statute on the one hand, and that of love and faith on the other. The one tends to rigidity, hardness, traditionalism, intolerance, persecution. The other signifies appreciation, consideration, social-mindedness, concern for the welfare of people rather than the imposition of institutions, and of all people because they are people rather than for one's own sect or party.

Associated with this substitution of an attitude of love for the statutes of law is the displacement of the authority of the book and church by that of experience, personal and observed, individual and racial. Here also we touch upon a matter of fundamental and far-reaching importance. It is a crucial moment in the life of any teacher when he faces an

apparent contradiction between the authority of tradition embodied in a book or in an institution and that of the facts as he seems himself to discover them in human experience. The scholastic, the ecclesiastic, the legalist, in the university, the church, or the political government, seems to stand for the verdict of the past embodied in literature or tradition. The pressure of society and of institutionalism is almost wholly on that side. It is a notable hour when a man clearly says to himself, or even half-consciously decides, that henceforth he will face the facts as best he can ascertain them through the interpretation of experience, and, while not breaking with the past, will nevertheless not be bound by it. This both Jesus and Paul did; Jesus, probably, with greater clearness of perception as to what he was doing than Paul, but both in effect and reality. With Jesus the matter came to issue in various ways, but apparently most conspicuously in respect to the Sabbath. With Paul circumcision occupied the front of the stage. But both apparently accepted the principle without reserve. Both believed in the value of the past and had no desire to break with it abruptly, but both believed in a living and ever-revealing God and in the possibility of new light breaking forth, not from the book only, but from the experience of men also.

Both Jesus and Paul preached a gospel of reconciliation, of forgiveness. In other words, they believed, and taught men to believe, that there is forgiveness with God; that the prodigal and the sinner may return to God and find peace and reconciliation and newness of life. Into the question of the relation between that forgiveness and the death of Jesus on the cross I need not enter at length. The question whether Jesus and Paul were at one in their thought about this, whether Paul, looking back to the cross, ascribed to it the same value and significance which it had for Jesus as he

looked forward, is made more difficult by the obscurity of the language of the gospels and epistles. This, at least, is true: that whether the death of Jesus had for them the virtue of an expiatory sacrifice, satisfying the demand of the divine nature that where there is sin there also shall be suffering, or whether its value was for them in the revelation of the heart and mind of God, furnishing them a ground for man's approach to God, they are agreed, whichever view either of them may have held, in the assurance that God is both righteous and forgiving, that the death of Jesus is a part of the revelation of God on the basis of which he forgives sin, and that forgiveness is for those, and those only, who come to God with repentance and with faith. The gospel of Jesus and the gospel of Paul are both alike gospels of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Both believed also in life after death for those who in this life have come into fellowship with the eternal God. That their conceptions of the nature of that life were exactly the same is not so certain, but in respect to this and in respect to the grounds of their faith the resemblances of their thought were more significant than the differences.

6. The facts already stated are sufficient to show a very large measure of agreement in their ideas of God. It is when we pass to consider other elements in their thought of God that we find it more difficult to say how far their thought was the same. Both recognized the transcendent greatness of God and the necessity and reality of mediate revelation of God. But it is not altogether clear that they held the same conception of the extent to which God's revelation was mediate and indirect, or of the means by which it was effected. To gain a true perspective in this matter we shall need to recall briefly how men of their day had come to the idea of God which they held.

There is a long history of thought about God that precedes that first Christian century in which both Jesus and Paul lived, and they, in common with their contemporaries, were the heirs of that history. On the Hebrew side there had been long ago the days when Yahweh was the God of a tribe or of a group of tribes, as the gods of the surrounding peoples were the gods of those peoples. His territory, his relationships, his power, were all limited. When they were defeated in battle, he was defeated; when they were victorious, he won a victory. But those days were for Israel of the first century, for Jesus and Paul, far removed in thought as in time. The marvelous work of the prophets in the enlargement and exaltation of the idea of God had had a profound and a permanent effect. The doctrine that the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork, that idols are the creation of men's hands, but that the Lord made the heavens and the earth, and that all nations are his had long ago become accepted and unquestioned elements of Israel's thinking. I often wonder whether we at all adequately appreciate the significance of the vast distance between the tribal religion of early Israel, or the polytheism of the surrounding natives, and the point of view expressed in that resolute affirmation that Jahweh made the heavens and the earth, that he is God and there is no other, which the prophets of Israel persistently made and which Israel had finally and permanently accepted.

In the Greek world the situation was very different. Out of the crude polytheism of ancient days there had indeed arisen the philosophic monotheism of the Stoics. But there had been no such thoroughgoing triumph of the monotheistic conception. The language and the thought of the people were still largely polytheistic, and monotheism was hardly more than the esoteric doctrine of the few. The very tolerance of

the Roman world of Paul's day toward the religions of all lands is itself an evidence of the slender hold of the monotheistic conception upon the thought of the time.

But in one direction this monotheism of the Greeks had a marked development and had its influence upon the thinking of the Jews who were in contact with the Greek world. With the thought of the greatness of God which is inevitably associated with the thought that God is one and is maker and ruler of heaven and earth, there had come to be associated the thought that there could be no immediate contact with God; that he could create and could speak only through mediate agents and agencies. Out of this thought and of the tendency of the world of that day to personify, and then almost, or quite, to personalize what we, at least, think of as abstract qualities, there arose the idea of the wisdom of God as that through which he framed and ruled the world, of the Logos and the Logoi and the Powers of Philo. In this mode of thought Gnosticism also had at least one of its roots. Into the genetic history of this type of thought there is neither time nor need to enter. Its existence is abundantly evidenced in the New Testament itself, in Philo, and in other literature of the period.

With such a type of thought we moderns can hardly fail to sympathize. As travel and exploration have so greatly enlarged our immediately visible world, as the microscope has disclosed to us a universe of which the ancients knew nothing, as the telescope has disclosed to us worlds so far away from us that the light which we see through our telescopes left them before recorded human history began, as our whole knowable and thinkable universe has become incredibly enlarged, we must surely, if we still hold to our monotheism, cry out with the author of the prologue of John, "*God* no man hath known, and no man can know." This immeasurableness

of God, of which they had so much less evidence than we, but of which they had enough to be deeply impressed, evidently played a large part in the thinking of religious men in the Greek-speaking world of the first century. It practically compelled some kind of a doctrine of mediate agencies.

How the later Christianity of the apostolic age met the problem thus presented to religious thought we see very impressively and clearly in the prologue of John. It will not surrender its monotheism, nor belittle or diminish its idea of God. But neither will it admit a multiplicity or chain of emanations from God. One link only will it place between God and the world, and that link shall be on the one side so near to God that in eternity and in function he is God, and on the other hand so near to earth that he shall be a corporeal being and known to men as one of them. Availing itself of the Logos doctrine of the Greeks and of Philo, by affirming that Jesus, whom it has accepted as Lord, is in very fact that Logos become flesh, it links together the philosophy of the Greeks and the Messianism of the Jew and the faith of the followers of the Nazarene in a conception that holds them all.

But this doctrine is not altogether peculiar to the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. Important elements of it are found in Paul also, a fact all the more significant when we remember that he belongs, not as does the Fourth Gospel, to the beginning of the second century, but to the middle of the first, and that his epistles are the earliest books of the New Testament. Paul does not, indeed, use the term "Logos," nor does he emphasize as strongly as does the prologue the unknowableness of God. But, like the prologue, he affirms the pre-existence of Jesus before his coming in the flesh; he ascribes to him, in that period, existence in the form of God;

and he makes him, in that previous existence, the agent of creation.

To the Philippians he writes: "Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a prize to be forcibly retained, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men."

And in writing to the Corinthians he says: "To us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him."

Still more explicitly to the Colossians he says of Jesus, ". . . . who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation; for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth. . . . . All things have been created through him and unto him, and he is before all things, and in him all things are held together."

7. These passages not only show that Paul's conception of God was deeply affected by the idea of his remoteness from the world, but because Paul, like John, makes the pre-existent Jesus to have been the intermediary between God and the world, they bring us face to face with the question of what Paul thought of Jesus. It seems expedient, indeed, before undertaking a comparison of the thought of Paul about God with Jesus' conception of God, to fill out our interpretation of Paul's thinking by inquiring more fully into his conception of Jesus; in particular, asking whether the passages which we have quoted to show his thought about God give us also an adequate and just understanding of his conception of Jesus.

Whether in the days of his Pharisaism Paul ever saw Jesus, we do not certainly know. That he ever had any close or significant contact with him is wholly improbable. But

after his death, if not before, he certainly held very definite convictions about him. He regarded Jesus as a false leader, and his followers as enemies of true religion. His persecution of them was undoubtedly a continuation of the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees, which had brought about Jesus' death. According to all the evidence that we possess, the reason for the Pharisees' hostility to Jesus was his divergent conception of religion, and especially his rejection of their traditionalism and legalism. The most probable explanation of Paul's intense antipathy to Jesus' followers is that they, though continuing their life within the Jewish community, also continued, or even developed further, the ethical and non-legal conception of religion which they had learned from Jesus.

Into the steps of the process by which Paul himself became a non-legalistic follower of Jesus it is not possible at this time to enter. Suffice it to say that his own testimony makes it clear, on the one side, that the causes of the change lay largely in his own experience of the failure of that very legalism in defense of which he had persecuted the followers of Jesus, and on the other, that the change when it came was sudden, violent, cataclysmic. As a result of it he accepted the Jesus whom previously he had rejected and, in the person of his followers, had persecuted.

Accepted him, I say; but as what? As a Davidic, national Messiah, who, setting up a Davidic throne in Jerusalem, would restore the Kingdom to Israel, crush out Sadducism, and conquer the Gentiles? Most certainly not. Whatever the process by which he reached his thought, however many of the days in Arabia may have been spent in deep meditation before his thought was clear, his conception, when he reached it, was of the Son of God with power, a "Holy Spirit," as he calls him in the beginning of Romans; viceregent of God, but

having access also to the hearts of men, and living in intimate fellowship with them: a heavenly Christ, a spirit of God.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that it was Jesus of Nazareth of whom he affirmed these things—the very Jesus who had been crucified, whom Peter and the rest of the Twelve had known and followed, and whom they now accepted as the Christ who would soon return from the heavens. The apostle's own testimony indicates that his long mental and spiritual struggle culminated in a vision-experience in which he verily believed that he saw Jesus, and that, recognizing him as Jesus of Nazareth, he saw in him also the image of God. This union of the two—the earthly-historical, and the heavenly-spiritual—is the heart of his new conception of Jesus and of his new religious life. "It pleased God," he says to the Galatians, "to reveal his Son in me," the context leaving no doubt that it was Jesus who was so revealed. To the Corinthians he writes: "It was the God who, brooding over primeval chaos, said, Let light shine out of darkness, who also shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." Never for a moment does Paul dissociate the heavenly Christ of vision and of spiritual experience from the Jesus who loved him and gave himself for him in his death on the cross.

Other conceptions he learned to associate with these. Thus he took over from the apocalyptic Messianism of the time the belief that Jesus would come again on the clouds of heaven, and predicated for him, before his earthly career, an existence in the form of God akin to that which he learned in his first decisive vision to ascribe to him in the period of his resurrection. In this manner Paul set the career of Jesus on earth between two eternities of spiritual existence, punctuating, but scarcely interrupting, the later of the two eterni-

ties by a speedy appearance in the clouds to raise the dead and take unto himself his own.

8. These, let it be remembered, are the thoughts of the earliest New Testament writer to put pen to paper, or at least the earliest of whose writings we have any direct evidence. This is what Paul believed and preached, not only at the end of his career, in the early sixties, but at least a decade earlier, hardly more than twenty years after the crucifixion of Jesus.

It must also be recorded that we have no evidence that these conceptions roused any antagonism among the more immediate followers of Jesus. The infancy stories of Matthew and Luke show that sooner or later the profound sense of the greatness of Jesus and the endeavor to exalt him above all other men found expression in a different theory of his origin. But while Paul's conception of law and the freedom of the believer from bondage to it involved him in a bitter and prolonged controversy with the Christians of Palestine, who wished to keep Christianity within the boundaries of legalistic Judaism, we find no evidence that they attacked him for his doctrine either of the viceregent reign of the risen Jesus or of his pre-existence as the agent of creation. This fact, to which Professor Machen has called attention in his recent book on *The Origin of Paul's Religion,* is a significant one. It shows how high an estimate not only Paul, but the early church—the very early church—put upon their lord, Jesus. They could rise in quick antagonism to one of their own number who seemed to them to lay ruthless hands upon the law. But not even their bitter opposition to him could, apparently, lead them into any criticism of his exaltation of Jesus. That they themselves held the view does not necessarily follow. Not to oppose a view which is on the whole congenial to one's thinking does not of necessity involve acceptance of it. On

the whole the evidence of the infancy narratives and the silence of Mark is against the supposition that those who opposed Paul in reference to the freedom of the Christian from the law held with him his doctrine of the person of Christ.

9. Our question is, however, Did Jesus hold it? Did he think of himself as Paul afterward thought of him?

Because we have the actual letters of Paul, and because they unite to give us a clear and consistent representation of his thought about Jesus, we are able to know with reasonable confidence what positions he held. But Jesus wrote no books that have been preserved. All our reports of his sayings are indirect, and between the original utterance and the record which we possess there was interjected a rather complicated literary process. Moreover, these records in the Gospels are not wholly at one among themselves, either as to the thought of their authors about Jesus or as to his own thought about himself. Especially is this true as between the Synoptic Gospels as a group on the one hand and the Fourth Gospel on the other hand. Which of these are we to accept as reflecting the real thought of Jesus?

We have already seen that the prologue of the Fourth Gospel is even more explicit than Paul in its affirmation of the detachment of God from the world and his unknowableness, and in its identification of the historical Jesus with the Logos of the philosophers. But not even this Gospel affirms that Jesus held these views, and when we turn to the body of the Gospel we do not find either the term Logos applied to Jesus or the affirmation of the unknowableness of God. The high colors of the prologue are considerably dimmed in that portion of the Gospel which reports the words of Jesus. Yet it remains beyond controversy that the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel speaks of himself in language remarkably like that which Paul uses of him. He implies his pre-existence, and

though the language can be interpreted as referring to an ideal existence in the thought and purpose of God rather than to an objective and conscious existence, yet there is a manifest kinship between this representation and that of Paul. The Jesus of the Fourth Gospel speaks of himself as one with God and as the only way of approach to God. He predicts for himself a future of spiritual fellowship with his followers, with only dim suggestion of an apocalyptic return. With lines less sharply drawn than in the prologue or in Paul, the Jesus who speaks in the Fourth Gospel is nevertheless like the Christ of whom they speak, a being whose earthly career is but a parenthesis between two eternities of viceregent revelation of the eternal God.

What, then, do the Synoptic Gospels say? We have already spoken of the representation of the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke. Though it may be possible to combine them with the Pauline and the Johannine representations, yet they are not so combined in the New Testament, and they are certainly of diverse origin from these others. But it is not with these that we now have to do. We are asking what Jesus thought. And when we examine the synoptic records of his words we find the thought there expressed to be markedly different from that expressed by Paul, by the body of the Fourth Gospel, or in the prologue. Equally with them he has left behind the idea of the tribal God. He knows but one God, who controls the sun and the rain and cares for the birds and the flowers as well as for men. But believing in one God who cares for all the affairs of the universe, he seems to have felt no need of putting him at a distance beyond the reach of men's thought or of putting them beyond the reach of his immediate influence and help. On the contrary, he finds in God's care of the birds and the flowers the ground for a

simple faith in his constant interest in all the affairs of men and his immediate care of them.

Now it must be evident that if such a thought be fully and heartily accepted it leaves but little sense of need for a Logos doctrine or its equivalent. God himself does all that the other type of thought ascribes to a Logos. And if there be no Logos doctrine, the chief occasion, at least, for a doctrine of pre-existence has ceased to exist. Nor is it natural, with such a conception of God, to affirm that all approach to God must be through a single intermediary, since it teaches each man to come directly to God.

Nor in general do we find these ideas of remoteness, and pre-existence, and indirectness of approach through a single mediator, ascribed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. In none of them does he affirm his pre-existence or betray a consciousness of it, unless suggestion of this can be found in the slender evidence of an aorist tense. Nor does he affirm that he possesses a nature other than that which other men possess. In one passage, indeed, in Luke, chapter 10, and Matthew, chapter 11, he is said to have claimed for himself an acquaintance with God, and of God with him, which no one else possesses: "All things have been delivered unto me by my Father, and no one knows who the Son is except the Father, or who the Father is except the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal him." This is indeed a hard saying, not only difficult to accept, but even to understand. It is out of harmony even with its own immediate context, which declares that God reveals his thoughts unto babes. Indeed, taken just as the words stand, they deny to Jesus the very mediatorial function which it seems their chief purpose to affirm; for if no one knows the Son—or, in the Lukan form, knows who he is—he can reveal nothing to men. He is attached to God, but detached from men. It has, moreover, no parallel in the Syn-

optic Gospels except a partial one in the great commission in Matthew. This fact of its altogether exceptional character among synoptic passages, its manifest resemblance in thought and language to the Fourth Gospel, and the fact that the gospels of Matthew and Luke, in which it is found, were written years after Paul had embodied thoughts akin to these in his epistles, though not expressing them in this language, strongly suggests that in this exceptional passage we have a reflection of a type of thought, and a fragment of a tradition, quite different from those which the Synoptic Gospels elsewhere reflect.

Yet it must not be overlooked that these gospels themselves furnish a certain basis for such a record of Jesus' words, in that they testify to a type of utterance on his part of which these words might be an attempted translation into the language and mode of thought of a different atmosphere. Again and again, according to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus assumes a position of leadership in relation to other men. Conscious of an intimacy of relationship to God whom he loved as Father, fully persuaded that he knew, as other men did not, the way of life, he invited other men to accept his leadership. He called the four fishermen and Matthew the publican to leave their business and follow him. He gathered about him a company of twelve, whom he chose as his disciples and messengers. He set forth the principles on which he lived his own life, and bade other men also take up the cross and follow him. In gracious words he invited all those that labored and were heavy laden to come to him and find rest unto their souls, to take his yoke upon them and to learn of him because he was meek and lowly. Not with aggressive self-assertion, but with calmness of assurance, he assumes that he has found the way of life, the right relation to God and men, as other men have not, and invites them to follow him as their leader

and master. And though he does not elsewhere say, "No one else can do this," it is more than suggested that his place as revealer is unique. Thus in a real sense he assumes to speak for God as others cannot speak, and thus to stand between God and men. It is true that this explanation does not wholly account for the passage quoted, and, in particular furnishes no basis for the enigmatical words, "No one knows the Son [or who the Son is] except the Father." Of these words there is apparently no rational explanation except that they are the product of the writer's love of paradox and parallelism, yet it remains that they may be taken as a poetic and hyperbolic expression of the uniqueness of Jesus in the revelation of God, an idea of which there are repeated intimations in the synoptists.

10. But however we may account for the presence of this Johannine passage in the Synoptic Gospels, it is clear that there are, in the New Testament and, indeed, within the gospels, what we may broadly distinguish as three conceptions of Jesus and his relation to God. There is, first, the Johannine, which is essentially also the Pauline conception of an eternal pre-existent Logos, the agent of God in creation and revelation, who became incarnate in Jesus, lived a human life among men, and, after his resurrection, was exalted to the right hand of God, whence also as a holy spirit he lives and rules in the hearts of men.

Over against this we may set the view which in general the synoptists ascribe to Jesus. Born into a Jewish family, reared in a home of Hebrew piety, Jesus early learned to think of God as his Father and as the Father of his fellowmen, the guardian and protector of all his creatures. When John the Baptist bade men prepare for the new era which he believed to be near at hand, Jesus responded to the call, and in the moment of submitting to the baptism which John ad-

ministered to those who gave heed to his message he gained a new sense of his own filial relation to God, a new consciousness of power and of responsibility. Withdrawing to the wilderness instead of returning, as perhaps he had expected, to Nazareth, he came forth with a clear sense of mission to his countrymen and a clear conception of his message. Believing in God as the ruler of the universe, yet as in near and helpful relation to men, living himself in the consciousness of intimate relationship to God, he sought to bring others to like fellowship with him. Exercising that call to leadership which was evidently so clear a part of his sense of mission, he gathered disciples and taught them the truths he had himself learned. Faced with the question of what attitude he should assume toward the idea of Messiahship, he definitely rejected the militaristic and political ideas that were associated with it, yet with all the stronger grasp retained and applied to himself the savior-idea that was at the heart of it. Opposed by the leaders of the nation and foreseeing that if he remained faithful to his own conception of religion and his own sense of mission their opposition would in all probability bring him to a violent death, he yet determined to go straight forward, convinced also that though he should die at the hands of his people, he would not be defeated, but that in his very death he would redeem many and that he himself would triumph over death. Precisely what he taught respecting his own future after death is very difficult to determine. Our gospels as they stand undoubtedly represent him as adding to the idea of the Messiah as savior from the evils of sin, an apocalyptic conception involving his return to the earth to resume in triumph the life interrupted by death. But there are traces also of a less crass and more spiritual conception of the fulfilment of the divine purpose which it is difficult to account for except on the view that they represent the real thought of Jesus. Cer-

tain it is, however, that when his disciples became convinced, by a series of vision experiences, that their Master still lived, their faith in him was rekindled, and they, leaving behind the political ideas which they had previously associated with his Messiahship, accepted him as their Lord in heaven and looked for him speedily to return in glory and bring salvation to all who had put their faith in him.

The third view is differentiated from this second only in its theory of the origin of Jesus. The infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke substitute for the entrance of Jesus into the world as other men come the view that he had no human father, but was conceived by a special creative act of the Holy Spirit.

11. This diversity of thought about God and his relation to the world, of Jesus and of his place in the process of divine revelation, it is impossible to ignore. We may differ in our statement of it, but we cannot close our eyes to it. Beyond all doubt, behind our New Testament books there lies a process of reflection and of interpretation, of adaptation to different situations and intellectual atmospheres, of translation into different phraseologies, and of somewhat different theologies.

In this process Paul undoubtedly played an important part. With a different religious experience from that of any of the Twelve, with a wider horizon geographically and a different contact philosophically, with a sense of responsibility to the whole gentile world, such as they perhaps felt for the Hebrew people, he was not only constrained consciously to oppose the narrow legalism of the Judaistic party in the church, that the Gospel might not be unnecessarily handicapped in its approach to the Gentiles, but was also impelled, perhaps with less of conscious intent, and certainly with less struggle of mind, to put his conception of Jesus into forms of thought congenial to the Greek-trained mind. A similar en-

vironment and a similar impulse, carried further, give us the Fourth Gospel. A different environment, a different need, a different type of mind, transmit to us the more naïve thought of God, the more human representation of Jesus, that we find in the Synoptic Gospels. In order of writing, the Synoptic Gospels are the middle term, Paul preceding, and the Fourth Gospel following, them. But there can be no reasonable doubt that the Synoptic Gospels have preserved for us a stream of tradition whose source is pre-Pauline. Influenced to some extent by the thought of Paul they undoubtedly are, but the more I study them, the more I am convinced that in their representation of Jesus, especially as we find it when we uncover the sources that lie beneath them, they carry us nearer to his own thought of himself than does any other New Testament writing.

Yet we need not on that account regret the entrance of Paul upon the scene. Without him, so far as we can see, Christianity must have remained a Jewish sect. He first, so far as we know, conceived and adopted with passionate enthusiasm the idea of a universal Christianity, unhampered by bonds of nationalism. With this conception his idea of Jesus is intimately connected. He brought to the gentile world a Gospel which appealed to them as no one of the Twelve could or did.

12. Nor is this an isolated phenomenon in the history of our religion. In every age each man must hear the Gospel in his own tongue and type of thought, and differences in point of view and ways of thinking there must always be.

Doubtless there will always be those who, though thoroughly monotheistic in their thinking, either remain so unimpressed with the vastness of the universe, or rise to such a height and simplicity of faith, that they find no difficulty in believing that the God of all the universe is also great

enough to give attention to every man and every sparrow, and to respond to every cry of all his creatures: a father to each of them. But doubtless also there will always be those on whom the vastness of the universe makes so powerful an impression that they cannot conceive that the God of all the universe can come into contact with the affairs of this earth and of men upon it except through intermediaries.

Push the first to an extreme, and God becomes, in the language of Matthew Arnold, a man who lives in the next street. Press the other to its fullest development, and, if you emphasize the intermediaries, you have the worship of the saints, and if you exclude them, you have only a cold theistic philosophy or even agnosticism, the Absolute and Unknowable of Herbert Spencer.

Perhaps most of us need both points of view for our different moods and experiences. At times we need to remember not only the infinite greatness of God, but that all the world is a revelation of him, every common bush afire with him, and that every human being, in proportion as he is good and great, is an image of God, but especially that in the face of Jesus Christ we may behold the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, and, following him, may be well assured that we shall come to God. At other times we may rejoice to feel ourselves in the very presence of the eternal, or to commit ourselves to him with simplicity of faith, untroubled by anxious concern whether his power and blessing flow to us directly from his presence or through a thousand unseen channels.

13. But to return to Paul: What shall we say in summary of his relation to Jesus?

He reaffirmed, expounded, and defended certain great ideas of Jesus—love toward God and men, and faith in God; the sinfulness of sin, but the possibility of reconciliation to God for the repentant and believing sinner.

He rejected, even more explicitly and passionately than Jesus had done, the legalism that was current in Judaism, and defended the doctrine that love is the Christian's only law against a powerful legalistic movement that arose within the Christian movement itself.

He definitely gave to the Christian movement a world-wide horizon—a thing which, so far as we can judge from our records, was only implicit in Jesus' thought as it was expressed in the days of his flesh.

He was far more affected than was Jesus by that tendency of Greek thinking to join to its enlarging conception of God the corollary of his unapproachableness and the necessity of intermediaries to any communication between God and the world.

This conception of God, joined with the conviction that came to him in the Damascus vision, that Jesus was indeed the image and revelation of God, gave rise to the conception of Jesus as the pre-existent agent of God in creation, and, as in the days since the resurrection, the Son of God with power, of which we find a still further development in the Fourth Gospel.

Into the much disputed question as to how far Paul derived his ideas by transmission from Jesus we have not, and cannot, enter. Suffice it to say that the truth undoubtedly is with neither extreme. Without doubt Paul knew much about what Jesus had taught. But just as clearly his whole conception of him as the ever living and ever present Christ of experience made experience for him a factor of far more importance than it would have been to a man with Peter's history and temperament.

14. Among the forces that gave to the world the Christian movement—under whose influence it sprang up within Judaism, detached itself from it, came to terms with the

Greco-Roman world, and became a great world-force—Paul was one of the greatest. But his own estimate of himself is nevertheless true. He was not the creator, but the interpreter, the translator, the promoter in a high and noble sense. It was Jesus who, by the clearness of his insight, by the spotlessness of his character, by the embodiment of his ideals in his own life, by the willing sacrifice of himself for his ideals and for the sake of men, gave to the movement its decisive character and its determinative impulse. Paul was an apostle, a messenger, an interpreter. We can scarcely give him too high praise if only we do not put him in that supreme place that belongs to Jesus.

15. All this serves to emphasize a fact very important to be recognized. Religion, always in part a social, in part an individual experience, cannot, in the very nature of the case, be standardized and reduced to an inflexible uniformity. Into religion the personal equation must always enter. But if this is true of religion, still more is it true of theology and the philosophy of religion. The moment a man begins not only to experience religion, but to explain it, account for it, that moment his general point of view, cast of mind, philosophical presuppositions, enter in as an important influence.

To this general law Christianity is no exception. Into the world's religious experience Jesus entered as a powerful modifying force. By the keenness of his moral and spiritual insight, by the loftiness and simplicity of his thought of God and of the relations of men to one another and to God, by his absolute fidelity to his own ideals and his unreserved devotion to them and to the service of mankind, by his sacrificial death and his triumph over death, he brought into human life a new force. He convicted men of sin, challenged them to higher living, gave them hope, brought them to God. He was for them, in fact, the Way, the Truth, the Life.

He exerted this influence not only on those who saw him in the flesh, but on multitudes to whom he was made known by the message of his preached and written word. For nineteen centuries he has been an increasing force in the life of the race. Born in Palestine, living his whole life in that petty province, he has become a citizen of every nation, and is, more than any other person in history, the moral and spiritual leader of the race. We, far more than the men of the first century or of the second, have reason to recognize his unsurpassed, unequaled place of leadership in the life of the world, not only in the religious life of men in the narrower sense of the word, but increasingly in every aspect of the social life of men: in education, in business, in politics, national and international. In his lifetime a few men followed him and gave him their life's devotion. After his death the number of his followers rapidly increased; today they are in every land under the sun, among every race of men, of every color and every grade of civilization. Men of every race and of every type of culture confess him to be the revelation of God, the ideal of life, the captain of their lives. This is the common denominator of universal Christianity, the glad acknowledgment of the moral and spiritual leadership of Jesus.

But it is impossible that men should stop with this. He challenges not their wills only, but their thinking. It was so at the very beginning. The first question that Jesus asked of men was not what they thought about him, but whether they would follow him; yet the second question came close upon the first.

But it is equally inevitable that when men begin to define Jesus, to place him and to explain him, this explanation will be in the forms of thought to which they are accustomed. On the basis of their philosophy, explicit or implicit, they must

place him in *their* thought-world, not in the unknown thought-world of other men.

So it was in the first century, and so it had to be if he was to become the Christ of all nations. David cannot fight in Saul's armor. The Palestinian, with his relatively simple thought about the world, does not think of him in terms of Greek philosophy. But quite as certainly it is impossible for the thoughtful, philosophically minded Greek not to translate the thought of him into precisely that terminology which is foreign to the Palestinian. The Gospel of John represents a necessary stage in Christian thinking as the Gospel moved out from Palestine into the Greek-thinking world, and a necessary means of the spread of the faith to the non-Palestinian world.

So has it been in all centuries; so must it always be. Jesus is indeed the Savior of the world, the Christ of all nations, but it is an inevitable corollary of that fact that the people of every nation shall think of him in their own terms; to the Jew he must be a Jew; to the Greek, a Greek; to the Indian, an Indian; and to the Chinese, a Chinese. A modern Indian was asked very recently what would have happened if St. Paul had come to India instead of going to Asia Minor and Greece. His answer was, "If he had came to us with the interpretations of Christ which he gave to Asia Minor and Greece, we would have had none of him." Doubtless; but doubtless also if Paul had gone to India and had been as sensitive to Indian thinking as he was to that of Greece and Asia Minor, he would not have spoken to India as he spoke to Greece.

Looking back, not as Paul did, over thirty years, but over nineteen centuries, we have far more reason than he had to believe, as he believed, in a universal religion, a religion of the race, and in Jesus as the revealer of God to all men and the captain of the faith of all men. But we must also recog-

nize what he evidently felt, but perhaps never clearly defined to himself, that in every age each man must hear the Gospel in his own tongue and type of thought, and interpret Jesus in the terms of his own thinking. Paul's right and duty is also our right, and not only our right, but our duty. Every generation, and, to a degree, every individual, must make his own religion. But especially if he be in any measure a thinker in the sphere of religion, he must find his own interpretation of the basal facts of religion. For Paul's interpretation of Jesus we have reason to be forever grateful. Without him it is difficult to see how the message of Jesus could ever have come to the nations of Europe or to us. But to us also it belongs, as to Paul, to go back to Jesus and in him to discover for ourselves the revelation of God, and in his face to see for ourselves the light of the glory of God; in his life to find for ourselves the way, the truth, the life.

PART II

CHRISTIANITY IN THE LIFE OF TODAY

God is always in the world, and always at work in the world, now as truly as at any time in any period of history.

With infinite variety in His ways of working, and with infinite patience, but with one purpose:

To enlarge men's vision, to deepen their insight, to broaden their experience, to purify and enrich their lives.

Therefore it is our business to work with Him at this task, always in progress never finished, always moving toward its distant goal of perfect fellowship of men with God.

—Ernest DeWitt Burton

VIII

A NEW TYPE OF CHRISTIANITY[8]

THERE is a widespread feeling that we are witnessing the rise of a type of Christianity different in some respects from any that has preceded it; and this feeling undoubtedly has its basis in fact. Not even Christianity with its canonized literature and its creeds intended to be perpetual can escape the influence of the evolutionary process that characterizes every phase of human life. The process is always going on; and when we speak of a new type as existing today, we mean neither that it is wholly new, nor that it will displace the older types, nor that it is itself rigid and fixed, nor that it will give rise to a new church or denomination. What we do mean is that the process of change has been more than usually rapid of late, and that there are in consequence signs of the emergence of a type of Christianity, partly old, partly new, with some elements already defined, others yet to be determined; yet on the whole distinct enough to be recognized as taking its place as a new type alongside others that have been longer established and are more familiar. If this be true, the fact is worth observing and, as far as this is possible, defining.

One characteristic of the new Christianity that is already clearly defined is its thoroughgoing acceptance of the maxim, "Whatsoever is true." This principle is of course not new. It was enunciated long ago by the apostle Paul, and has ruled the thinking of many both before and after him. But the type of Christianity of which we are speaking bids fair to

[8] An editorial published in the *Biblical World* (July, 1910).

yield a more unqualified allegiance to it than it has ever received since the day when Jesus made it the ruling principle, intellectually speaking, of his religion. This allegiance finds expression in the acceptance of the results of scientific study of the world. If there be a controversy between Genesis and Geology, the new Christianity will stand with Geology. The record left in the strata of the earth cannot be impugned by a poet of the prescientific age, even though that poet be also a prophet of a higher conception of God than had before his day prevailed. In conformity to the same principle, the new Christianity will accept the assured results of historical investigation into the records of ancient times. Religion has its rights, but so also has history, and one of these is that it be studied by historical methods. The Chronicler's religion may have been far better than that of the stonecutter who left his record in the monuments, or the builder of cities whose ruins uncovered today tell the story of days long gone by. Yet the record in stone and clay may furnish the sure basis for the correction of the Chronicler's chronology. So also will it be in that special department of historical study that is known as literary criticism. How the books of the Bible came into their present form; how we got the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels, the Apocalypse, are all questions respecting which we may have not unnatural prejudices and preferences. But in the long run the evidence patiently sifted, by a process that may require two or three generations to complete it, must determine our decision, rather than any prejudice or preference whatever.

But decision of such questions as these on the basis of the principle "Whatsoever is true" will affect our decision of other questions also. For, in the first place, the decision of a historical question will often directly affect our judgment in a matter of doctrine. Thus, the discovery of historical errors

in the books of the Old Testament has compelled the revision of the dogma of the inerrancy of Scripture, and the recognition of the source of the apocalyptic theories of the New Testament has led to a re-examination of the whole matter of the validity of these theories. And in the second place, the thoroughgoing applications of the principle in historical matters will inevitably give rise to the demand for an equally uncompromising application of it in matters of even greater importance. The result of this twofold influence of the apostle's great maxim—or, if you please, of the incursion of the scientific spirit into the field of theological study—is already seen, and will increasingly appear, in the releasing of men's minds from the bonds of tradition and creed. The men of the past were quite within their rights when they sought to formulate their own convictions and faith; we ourselves are constantly doing the same thing in a more or less formal way. They were wrong only in forgetting that the same right would belong to their successors, and we are wrong when, in slothfulness or timidity, we shirk our tasks and hide ourselves from our perhaps painful duty behind the shelter of their achievement.

A second already determined characteristic of the Christianity that is now taking shape lies in the fact that it lays notably less stress on theology than has been usual in the past, and less than it itself lays on conduct and character. It recognizes the possibility that an honest man may be in great perplexity on many questions of doctrine and yet be sincerely and wholly devoted to the practice of the principles that Jesus taught and exemplified. It does not forget that "he that wills to do his will shall know of the doctrine"; but it remembers also that there is no clause of time or degree attached to this promise, and is willing to wait for its fulfilment in its own time and measure. Hence it is disposed to welcome to its fel-

lowship not only all classes and conditions of men in respect to wealth, education, and culture, but also men of widely different types of theological belief or doubt; but not men of widely different moral purpose. It will not, indeed, be without theology, nor will that theology be a series of negations. It will be positive, but it will be simple and brief; and its emphasis will be on things assent to which is a test of character rather than a measure of theological subtlety; on sympathy with the aims of Jesus and readiness to walk in the footsteps of his self-sacrifice, rather than on theories of his person or precise predictions respecting the future.

A third characteristic of the new type of Christianity will be—already is—its emphasis on practical achievement. Not, indeed, that the church as such will undertake all the great tasks that demand doing. It will rather be the duty of the church to produce men and women who will do these things through such agencies as may be found most convenient and effective. But the character of Christianity will be manifest in the type of men that it produces and in the work that they do in the church and outside of it. It will be in the true sense philanthropic, and in the broadest sense missionary, seeking to make its own Christianity ever more perfectly Christian in spirit and deed, and to extend that religion through the length and breadth of the lands of the earth. Unmoved by fear or hope of the speedy end of the world, undismayed by any doctrine of the inherent depravity of men or the inherent badness of all non-Christian religions, recognizing in all nations one race of men, it will labor with zeal and with discretion for the promotion of the highest welfare of all and the harmonious relation of all nations.

These characteristics we believe may be clearly discerned in the type of Christianity which is now taking form in this country and Europe. But there is one question respecting it that is as yet unanswered. It will be scientific, ethical, practi-

cal, and altruistic; will it be religious? Will it perceive that the morality that is to be effective in personal character and the elevation of the community must be deeply rooted in religion? Will it acknowledge that to love one's fellow-men in truth and steadfastness one must live in loving and believing fellowship with God? It is indeed easy to overlook these things. Morality may sever itself from the religion that produced it, and seem for long to suffer nothing in consequence. But the history of religion does not permit us to believe that either religion or morality can continue to flourish alone. Each needs the other for its own best development. The religion of Jesus is profoundly ethical, demanding right motives and right conduct. "He that heareth these words of mine and *doeth* them not is like unto a man that built his house upon the sand." But it is just as deeply religious. The injunction to enter into the closet and pray to the Father who is in secret is as central and as fundamental as the command to love one's neighbor as one's self.

The scientific spirit—absolute loyalty to the teachings of evidence—is a necessary element of the highest type of religion and morality. This spirit is, as we have already said, central in the teaching of Jesus. No tradition, no scripture, even, is authoritative for him against the conclusions demanded by his own insight into the world of present fact. But equally necessary to the highest type of religion is the recognition of the reality of the spiritual and of the possibility of fellowship between man and God. Science and mysticism do not easily blend. The man of science tends to reject the mysterious as unreal; the mystic, to thrust aside the scientific as irreligious. But Jesus found a way to blend them; and blend they must if religion is to reach its best development. The new type of Christianity will be scientific; it will be ethical; it will be social and altruistic; will it be religious? It will not be the religion of authority; will it be the religion of the Spirit?

IX

WHAT SHOULD THE CHURCHES DEMAND OF THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS?[9]

IN HIS address before the Religious Education Section of the International Congress of Arts and Science, President Charles Cuthbert Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, asked the following questions:

Shall the teaching of theology continue to be viewed chiefly as the communication to the candidate for a denominational ministry of the formulas of belief authorized by the ecclesiastical tribunal under whose jurisdiction he is to serve? Or shall the primary interest in the teaching of theology be the encouragement and direction of the student in research into the sources of knowledge, and in the co-ordination and use of his findings in whatsoever part of the church he can ultimately enter with moral sincerity and intellectual self-respect?

This question puts into clear and definite form a fact respecting the past of our theological schools and a problem which confronts them today and on the solution of which the character of their future in no small measure depends. The intellectual atmosphere is changing. The defensive and polemic attitude is giving place to the investigative. There is a tendency to transfer the emphasis of our loyalty to truth from the maintenance of truth received from the past to affirmation of the truth discovered in personal experience, or to search for the truth not yet discovered but believed to be within our grasp. How far are we to go in this direction? What

[9] A paper read before the twenty-second annual session of the Baptist Congress, Louisville, Kentucky, November 8, 1904.

is it reasonable to expect of a theological school of today in reference to its attitude toward the faith of the past and toward the possible new truth of the future?

The question has its legal aspects and its administrative aspects. But behind both these phases of the problem, and demanding primary consideration, is an even more fundamental question: What course is demanded by the highest interests of the truth and the Kingdom of God? Only when this question is rightly answered shall we be able rightly to face either the legal question, whether, in case of divergence of views from the past, we shall stand by the past and hold our endowments, or maintain our freedom to think and to move, at cost, if need be, of voluntarily surrendering some part of our endowments; or the administrative question, whether an instructor should be removed from office when he modifies the views which he held when he was elected.

The question may first be answered negatively.

It is not reasonable or right to demand that the teachings of the school today shall be controlled by the beliefs of the founders of the school. It is not affirmed that the teachings of the school ought not to be those of the founders, but that it is not reasonable to demand that the teachings of the school shall be controlled by those of the founders. We may waive the question whether it is a moral thing for any man to seek, by his gift of money or by his construction of a charter or constitution, to constrain by financial considerations the opinions or convictions of those who are to follow him. We may waive the question whether any man who is in his grave still possesses the right to control the use that is to be made of the money that when he was still alive belonged to him, and whether it was a moral thing for him while still alive to attempt to perpetuate indefinitely his control over the wealth that he had acquired. But one thing is certain: it is clearly an

immoral thing for the teachers of today to allow their vision of truth to be in any slightest measure affected, or their convictions to be by so much as a hair's breadth changed, by the fact that the men who gave the money to found or support the school, or who wrote the charter under which they work, held this opinion or that. They must look for truth with unbiased vision, and see it untinted with the color of gold.

Nor is it an expedient thing for those who are outside the school—the church, let us say—to demand that as soon as a teacher has departed from the views of the founders of the school he shall cease to teach. To do so is to stop all progress and anchor us to the past; and this, to state it mildly, is morally inexpedient. It is not denied that a teacher may so far or in such way depart from the views of the past that it would be his duty to withdraw, or even the duty of the trustees to demand his withdrawal. But, if so, the ground of that action cannot be the mere fact of his departure from the views of the past, but some other characteristic of his teachings; and what that characteristic is, is precisely what we have yet to define.

In the second place, it is not reasonable to demand that the teachings of the school shall be controlled by the beliefs of the churches. For this again is to demand that the teacher in his study shall take as the criterion for his own beliefs, not the answer to the simple question, "What is true?" but the answer to that other one, "What do my brethren at large hold upon this subject?" Moreover, it is to demand that the very men who are set apart from other occupations to devote their time to thought and teaching shall determine the results of their thinking by the opinions of those who are very largely engaged in occupations which give less opportunity for study and investigation. Again let it be clearly observed what is said: not that the theological schools ought not to teach what the churches believe, or that a theological teacher ought not

to consider most carefully the views of his brethren outside the school, and respect their thought as he asks to have his own respected; but that it is not reasonable to demand either that the teacher shall determine his views by those generally held in the churches, or that he shall cease teaching as soon as he departs from these. This is to estop all progress except such as is first made outside the school, and to deny to the teacher all privilege of leadership. It is to deny to the school what it grants to the members of the church outside the school, and to adopt a principle which would place in the teacher's chair, not leaders of thought, but those only who would be content meekly to walk at the rear of the procession.

Nor is it reasonable to demand that the teacher shall believe and teach the same things that he believed and taught yesterday. There is a tradition—perhaps a myth—that a distinguished theological professor of this country said late in life: "I thank God I have not changed my mind on a question of theology in forty years." That was doubtless his privilege. But it cannot be morally expedient to demand that all theological teachers shall be of that type. Forty years is a long time in a fast-moving period of history. It is not reasonable, because it is not in the interests of the cause of truth, to demand that progress shall come only by succession in office through death or resignation.

Nor is it reasonable to demand that the student shall return to the churches believing what he believed when he came up to the school. This, indeed, would be the most absurd demand of all. For it finds its standard, not in the clearest possible vision of the mature scholar, nor in the general consensus of opinion of the denomination, nor in the views which the instructor held when he was appointed and which therefore in a sense received the approval of those who appointed him, but in the immature opinions or convictions of a mind which,

however keen and discerning, had, by hypothesis, not as yet devoted any systematic study to the great problems of theology. Happy the man whose early thinking is so discreet or has been so wisely guided that further study only deepens and widens his thought. But it cannot be assumed that all young men are of this kind, and it must be counted not an abnormal thing that men shall undergo considerable changes of view in the course of three or four or five years of study.

But is it then to be affirmed that no one has any right to make any demands upon a theological school, except that each instructor shall teach that which is right in his own eyes, undisturbed by criticism or fear of displacement, however far he may depart from the views of the past or from the beliefs held by his denomination or by the Christian church at large, or whatever the effect of his teaching upon his students in respect of their future usefulness? Are the rights of the founders of a school or their successors limited to filling vacancies caused by death?

It is impossible to give an affirmative answer to these questions. There undoubtedly are positive demands which may legitimately be made upon every school. Doubtless the specific demand that may be made in a given case will depend somewhat upon the constitution, history, and purpose of the particular school. But every school must be recognized as existing to discharge a certain function. Those to whom the school belongs have the right and the duty to demand that it shall perform that function. Nor can it be doubted that this rightful demand may involve limitations upon the liberty which a teacher may fairly exercise, or upon his tenure of office. Insanity or invincible ignorance would doubtless be regarded as just causes for the removal of a man from a chair of science. Probably a professor of anatomy or therapeutics in a medical school might adopt, and insist upon teaching,

views so unanimously condemned by the consensus of scientific opinions, or so clearly tending to unfit those who received them for their practical work as physicians and surgeons, that it would be necessary to demand his resignation. So also there are doubtless some views in the realm of theology which are so unanimously condemned by all the profounder students of theology, and so manifestly calculated to unfit men for the work of the Christian ministry, that he who held them could not expect or be expected to continue to teach theology save at his own charges. What, then, may we reasonably demand of a school having such a history and constitution as the leading theological schools of our country have had? Let us understand the question as being not simply what is legally permissible, but what is wise and right; what is, in a high sense of the term, expedient.

The answer must be framed in view of the fact that our theological schools were established and are maintained with the chief purpose of training men to be Christian preachers and teachers. It must not be forgotten, indeed, that the history of these schools and the still more imperative law of obligation to serve the interests of the divine kingdom alike demand that these schools shall adapt themselves to the changing needs of successive generations. And this latter principle requires us to recognize that in the present generation these schools must be, as they have been to no small extent in the past and increasingly as the years have gone by, the homes of investigation in the theological field, schools of research, and, through research, of leadership in theological thought. This they must be if they would most effectively prosecute the task of preparing men for the work of the ministry; this they must be if they would take their natural share in the promotion of intelligence on religious questions in the ministry and the church at large. Yet it remains that in the schools of

which we are speaking the chief function of research is to promote effective teaching, and the supreme function of the school is to fit men for the work of the ministry.

This being the case, that which the churches ought to demand of the seminaries may be summed up in the one expression: an efficient ministry. If the schools send out men who by their residence in the school are fitted to become efficient ministers, they have succeeded. If they do not do this, they have failed. They do not necessarily fail if they send out men whose views of truth have been changed by their residence in the school; whose views are different in some respects from those of the denomination from which they came or to which they go; or who have moved away from the views of half a century ago. They may achieve their purpose most effectively precisely because they do all these things. They may fail precisely by binding themselves to the modes of thought of the past. But they certainly fail if their students are, because of their residence in the school, unfitted for the work of the ministry; if they are rendered inefficient.

But what, then, is efficiency? It is the capacity for achieving results. In the Christian ministry it is the ability to be teachers and leaders in the work of the Christian church. It includes capacity for so presenting religious and moral truth and so interesting men in the truth and in its application to the problems of life, personal and social, that they shall come to live in harmony with truth, in fellowship wth God, and in active co-operation with one another for the welfare of their fellow-men. Such efficiency the churches have a right to expect in the men who go out from the school; and they have the right and the duty to find fault if, instead, the school sends out men who have no convictions, but only denials or questions, or who are simply men of learning without sympathy with men or power to help them, or who by their resi-

dence in the school have lost all religious life and fellowship with God, and so all power to lead other men into such fellowship—in short, if the effect of the work of the school is to produce, not efficiency in the ministry, but incapacity and inefficiency.

The test of efficiency must not be invalidated by the assumption at the outset that they only can be efficient who accept a certain narrowly defined scheme of doctrine, nor must the decision be based on a few exceptional cases. Progress in thought, real progress, may result in a temporary ill-adjustment between the graduates of a school and the churches, which for a time may seem to impair, or actually impair, efficiency. This has always been the case in every forward, as well as in every backward, movement. A reasonable time must be allowed in which to discover whether the impairment of efficiency is permanent or is to give place to increased efficiency. In a transition period in theological thinking some men are likely to lose their grasp upon the older thought without gaining a hold upon the new, and find themselves without that strength and clearness of conviction which are needful to the highest efficiency. But such occurrences cannot be accounted decisive considerations. Refusal on the part of a school to take account of the progress of thought and knowledge in the field of theology and in kindred fields likewise results in maladjustment to environment, perplexity, loss of conviction, and impaired efficiency. Inability to accept theological views framed in the past and still taught in the schools has, it may be safely affirmed, driven far more men out of the ministry into other occupations than have ever been led to abandon the ministerial office because of the undue modernizing of our theological schools. One needs but to know the history of the last twenty-five years to perceive that a very considerable change of doctrine in matters which,

when the suggestion of change was first made, were felt to be vital may occur not only without diminution of real efficiency, but even with increase of effectiveness. The well-established results of history must, of course, be taken into account. What has clearly been shown in the past to produce inefficiency cannot fairly demand a fresh opportunity to show to what results it leads. But neither must the views of today be hastily branded with the names of old heresies, nor the fact forgotten that not views only, but conditions also, must be taken into account in considering what has in the past contributed to efficiency or inefficiency. The test of efficiency must be made broadly and reasonably.

But may not a theological school legitimately set for itself a more specific purpose than has been indicated above? May it not, for example, take as the scope of its work the preparation of men for the ministry of a particular denomination, or even of a particular denomination in a particular region of the country? And will not such a specific definition of its purpose affect its definition of efficiency? To these questions it must doubtless be answered that the definition of efficiency will be affected by the specific purpose of the school, and that it is both legitimate and necessary, as long as the conceptions which Christian men form of Christianity vary as greatly as they do today, that certain schools exist with a more specific purpose than the preparation of men for the Christian ministry without reference to denomination or region of the country. In a school of scope thus limited the test of efficiency will doubtless include the inquiry whether the men who come from the school are as a class fitted to serve the churches of a particular denomination, or in a particular region, and successfully lead them forward in the work for which they exist. But into this phase of the matter it is not necessary now to enter. The proposition here maintained is

a simple one: that whatever the precise scope of the school, the morally expedient, and therefore the right thing is not for the churches to demand that the teachers of the school shall hold or teach this or that, but that the tendency and effect of the school's work shall be to produce an efficient mininstry; not to place their teachers under bonds to choose between standing still in their thinking or surrendering their chairs, but to grant them freedom of thought and freedom of teaching; hoping, indeed, and praying that there may come to them larger light, and that under the leadership of the spirit of God they may lead men into that fulness of truth which the church has not yet fully apprehended, and into that liberty of the truth which Christ has promised shall make us free. The churches should grant them, I say, freedom of thought and teaching, limiting such freedom only by the requirement that the effect of their teaching shall be to produce an efficient ministry, able to lead men into larger apprehension of truth, purer moral purpose, higher moral achievement.

This is the criterion that Jesus' own words suggest. It was of religious teachers that he said: "By their fruits ye shall know them." The truth that a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor a corrupt tree good fruit, does indeed cut both ways, bidding us to see to it that our hearts are pure that our lives may be good, and to test our hearts, that even we ourselves but imperfectly know, by our lives that we can see. But the application that Jesus made of it to teachers was not that we should prognosticate the character of the fruit by our judgment of the doctrine, but that we should infer the character of the teaching from the results in life.

The test of efficiency is, moreover, the test that the churches are really most competent to apply. To weigh moral values is far easier than to enter into the merits of a great

doctrinal discussion, the very terms of which often require prolonged study to define. Are the men who are going out from a given school helping men to live purer, stronger, more noble, and more helpful lives? Are they men who, from their fellowship with God, lead their people into such fellowship and into consequent holy and helpful living? Of this the churches can judge. But a new conception of the nature of revelation, a new thought concerning the meaning and effect of the death of Christ, a new valuation of Christian experience as a factor in the determination of doctrine, a new point of approach to the whole theological problem—to decide whether these constitute a forward step in our apprehension of truth or a retreat into darkness—none will claim that this is an easy task. What the churches need is an efficient ministry. Whether they are obtaining such a ministry they are competent to decide if only there be reasonable time for a fair test. This, which they need; this, of which they are able to judge, they have a right to demand. Let them apply the test of Jesus: "By their fruits shall ye know them."

Into the question of what are the necessary characteristics of a school that is to produce an efficient ministry limits of space forbid us to go at length. Four such characteristics may be barely named:

A spirit of work. The time which the student can spend in the theological school is at best all too short in which to obtain the knowledge which he needs to possess and the methods of work of which he must be master; to state the problems which he must face, and, if possible, begin to solve; to reach the convictions with which he must be equipped if he is to be an efficient minister of the Gospel. Hours of quiet, seasons of reflection and deliberation—these are eminently desirable, but only that in them the student may do his finest work. If anywhere in this twentieth century there is a place

for the idle and the slothful, that place is certainly not in the theological school that is set to fit men for an efficient ministry.

Freedom of thought: hospitality for every question that thinking minds raise concerning religion, morality, and the life of the spirit, and an open door into every field of investigation. It is not to be denied that a certain kind of efficiency has been produced, and can be produced, in the atmosphere of repression of thought. But the place for the type of mind which such an atmosphere generates is becoming smaller every day, and every day there is greater need of men whose efficiency is achieved, not through the shutting of their eyes but through the opening of them.

A spirit of mutual helpfulness. The ministry is a service. He that is servant of all is greatest of all. He is most efficient who serves most effectively. And the school that is to prepare men for such effectiveness must itself be pervaded by a spirit of mutual helpfulness. The theological school of today is no scholars' retreat in which the professor may lose himself in his books and his writings, unless precisely by that losing himself he becomes the most efficient servant of the student. It is no place for the student to cultivate a self-centered type of piety that chastens and refines its own soul, forgetful of the needs of others.

Finally, the school that would make efficient ministers must be characterized by a deeply religious spirit, an atmosphere of reverence for truth and of self-sacrificing determination to follow it; of high valuation of men and a sincere desire to help them; of participation in the spirit of him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many; of fellowship with God, his Father and ours.

And precisely upon the school of today, with its freedom

of thought and its investigative spirit, does this necessity rest most heavily. He who had but to learn the creed of his denomination or the ritual of his sect, he might perhaps be under less solemn obligation to live religiously while he learned. But he who faces for himself the great problems of religion, and, on the basis of the interpretation of the facts of religious experience, finds out religious truths and forges out religious convictions—for him a deep religious experience is indispensable, and indispensable precisely in his student days.

A school that possesses and maintains these characteristics can scarcely fail to produce an efficient ministry. Let the churches demand such a ministry; let the seminaries have freedom to produce it.

X

THE NEED FOR AN EDUCATED MINISTRY[10]

FOR THE purpose of comprehending our problem we should remember that the ministry today is in reality an assemblage of a considerable number of diversified occupations. Aside from the pastor, there are among us today men and women who are preparing for work as foreign missionaries, as college or seminary teachers, as editors of papers, as directors of religious education, and as secretaries of Christian associations. Moreover, the pastorate itself includes a wide variety of situations, such as the large city church, the small city church, the village and the rural church; and even these differentiate according to the racial character, the education, and the occupation of the people. How different, for example, are the demands made upon the minister of a large congregation in a city of a hundred thousand or a million and those that are made upon the pastor or the home missionary in a milling or mining town.

But if the pastorate at home is diversified, still more is the work of the missionary abroad. Our missionaries go to different countries. They deal with individuals and groups representing different grades of culture, different stages of advancement, and different occupations. Their work includes not evangelization only, but education, the publication of literature, practical administration, and a variety of other tasks too numerous and too diverse to be classified readily.

But there is another factor of diversification that must

[10] An address given in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, October 17, 1922.

be taken into account, namely, the native and ineradicable differences in men. I do not wish to exaggerate this fact above its proper proportion; still less, to classify men as superior and inferior. But the longer I have to do with students and the longer I observe my own mental processes, the more I am convinced that there are differences in the type of men's minds, and in their capacity for this or that kind of work, that are practically unchangeable; and that it is not wise to ignore these differences or worth while to attempt to overcome them.

Not to claim for my classification any final scientific value, but merely to illustrate my own thought, and speaking from the point of view of mentality, I should say that I have discovered among those with whom I have worked three classes of minds:

1. The acquisitive or absorbing mind. Men of this type read a great deal, listen a great deal, absorb what they read or hear, and pass it on to others. Their minds are like reservoirs which receive what comes to them and pass it on to other like receptacles. The reservoir is a very useful part of the water system of a city, and the reservoir mind is a very useful factor in the intellectual and spiritual life of a community.

2. Then there is the selective type of mind, which reads and listens, but always with criticism and discrimination. This type differs from the preceding rather in degree than fundamentally, because the acquisitive is always to a certain extent discriminating and selective. As a rule, however, it selects its book or its man and then takes what the book or speaker gives, while the second type sifts the ideas of the book or man, choosing what it will accept or what it will reject. This is the reservoir plus a filter.

3. And then there is the investigative type of mind, the

mind which to whatever reading or listening it does, always wants to add or prefix an examination of the facts themselves and a personal interpretation of their significance.

I am disposed to feel, though I do not want to overstate it, that the line of division between these types of mind, especially between the first two and the third, is not easily crossed, and that as a rule it is not greatly worth while to force a crossing. We need these different characteristics. All of us belong, as respects certain areas of thought, in the first class: we simply select our sources of information and take what they give without discrimination, knowing that we have not sufficient knowledge or acumen to enable us to make the discrimination. But it remains, I believe, that there are permanent and practically unchangeable differences in men in this respect.

A third fact which I want to emphasize respecting all phases of the work of the ministry is that the opportunities and responsibilities of the ministry today are such as to call for the best there is, and all there is, in a man, and for the development of all his latent possibilities. Wherever I go, whether to New York or San Francisco or Bombay or China or Japan, I find tasks to be accomplished more and larger than the men who are ready to undertake them. Never a position of any importance becomes vacant but, though there may be a dozen men that want it, it is difficult to find the man to fill it competently. This is true in the pastorate, in the teacher's chair, in editorial and secretarial positions, in the city and in the country, at home and in every mission field. Indeed, I have come to the conclusion that this is the plan on which God is administering the world: he first makes the task too big for the man, and then, by the challenge of the task, compels the man to grow up to it.

Now from these great facts—the wide diversity of the

tasks of the ministry of today, and the wide variety in native capacity of the men and women who are to be ministers, and the challenging character of the facts—I am forced to draw several inferences.

1. Every minister needs to be educated. There is no place in this world anywhere for the uneducated minister. The work of the minister, wherever it is done, in country or city, in factory town or in a rural community, in America or China or Africa, is not a task for an uneducated man, a man without knowledge or perception or insight or outlook.

2. Not all ministers should have the same education. I concede and maintain that there are some elements that ought to enter into the education of all ministers, however diversified their native capacity or their future work. Every man ought to have a certain knowledge of human nature, whether he has acquired it in a psychological laboratory or through daily intercourse with men. Every man ought to have some understanding of the world in which he lives, whether he gains it from reading, listening, or observation. Every Christian minister ought to know the Bible and have definite convictions as to the essentials of religion and the way of salvation.

But when one considers the wide diversity of the tasks of ministers, how impossible it is to prepare for them all, and how diverse are men's own attitudes, it is, to me at least, evident beyond all peradventure that all men cannot be educated in the same way. Let me illustrate this by one concrete example, that might be multiplied a hundred times.

Some weeks ago I met on a railroad train a former student of this school whom I had known personally. He told me some of the experiences of his pastorate. Five years ago he took charge of a church of about one hundred and fifty members in a manufacturing town; it now has seven hundred

members, and an evening congregation that fills and overflows the house. But the thing that interested me most was the statement of his ways of working. "Whenever I get discouraged or perplexed," he said, "I leave my study and go out after some individual who needs help, especially whose life is wrong and needs to be set right." And he added: "I always get my man." And then he gave me some illustrations of how he had got his man which were stories of keen human interest and very suggestive for the Christian pastor. I have reason to believe that this man is not a particularly good preacher, and I am very sure that he is not much of a scholar. His evening congregation and the growth of his church are not due to his exact scholarship nor to the strength of his sermons; they are due to his intense, unselfish interest in men and his profound conviction that Jesus Christ is the Savior of men from sin, and his willingness and ability to carry this message straight into the hearts and lives of men.

What would have been the result if we had tried, when that man was here, to make an investigative scholar of him? We would never have succeeded, but we might easily have spoiled an exceptionally useful man in the ministry in the attempt to make an investigator out of him.

3. But perhaps you will say, "I do not know just what my future work is to be." I grant that this must often be the case. I myself was very slow in finding the work for which I was best fitted. What I desire to urge is that you shall make an honest study of yourself, taking all necessary time for the study, decide at length as clearly and definitely as you can what the type of your mind and abilities are, and then fit yourself for *your* work.

4. This leads me to another suggestion: As things are today, every man must be his own educator. Once it was supposed—and perhaps to an extent it was true—that the school

educated the man. There were certain conditions for admission. The men who fulfilled these conditions were admitted to the school, put through a prescribed course without differentiation for individual aptitudes or future type of work, and as far as possible the same stamp was put upon them all. It was usually easy to tell, from meeting a man and hearing him preach, from what school he came. There are many schools of which this is still true. But this is emphatically not the case in this school. We do not give you an education. We furnish you only opportunities for educating yourselves; and unless you do educate yourselves, you will go uneducated.

5. But neither we nor you can complete your education in the years that you spend within the walls of this school. The best you can do is to begin, discover your method, begin to apply it, and then go out to continue your education as long as you live.

6. But finally, having said all that I have about diversity of talents and tasks and the consequent necessity for a differentiated education, I want to emphasize the very great need for men who are thoroughly educated, and are, as fully as possible, prepared to undertake and carry forward the more difficult and responsible positions in the ministry.

I myself am convinced that there must be a great diversity among men in the ministry. I think it utterly vain to expect—and perhaps it would be not altogether desirable—that all our pastorates shall be occupied by men who have had what may be called a standard training: college and seminary course. I believe in the short course for some men. And I believe that none of us who has had the larger advantages should cherish any feeling of Pharisaic superiority in respect to these men. But, speaking to this company, I wish to press upon your thought and attention the great number of posi-

tions in the ministry which call for men of first-rate power and first-rate training.

Run your eye over the pulpits of this city in any denomination with which you are most familiar and tell me how many men there are who are commanding attention by the weight and significance of their utterances—men who really have a compelling message to their day. A man who is competent to judge said to me last week that there was but one such man in all the Protestant pulpits of one of our largest eastern cities today.

And what is true of pulpits is only in less degree true of all the other fields of ministerial work. There are all too few men of commanding power of leadership in the Christian ministry today. In this day of unparalleled opportunity for the ministry too few men are meeting the situation with an impressive, enlightening message.

I said a moment ago that no man's education could be finished in the school, and I am not now going to suggest that any of you should stay here till the school has made you ready to take this position of commanding leadership for which I am pleading. I said also a moment ago that I believed that men had natural aptitudes and limitations which it was folly to attempt to transcend, and I am not now going to urge that all of you shall resolve that, God helping you, you will become star preachers arresting nation-wide attention. But what I do want to urge is this—two things, indeed—first, that the situation calls for men in the ministry of first-rate native power; and secondly, that it calls upon such men to get, while in school, education enough and of such a type that they can grow up to fill these places of first-rate importance and utter the message that shall make them leaders of thought and action. For though no education is finished in school, the school has a function to discharge, the lack of

which is not likely to be made up by self-education in later years. It is obvious that, as a rule, a man who enters the ministry after only a high-school education is not likely to rise to eminence in the ministry; so also after a college education only. To do one's best in after years in self-education one must have had the help of enough, but not too many, years in school.

So this is my last word to you: Know thyself. Measure and weigh your power with the utmost accuracy of which you are capable. Classify yourself, and know what kind of a man you are. Make no mistake if you can possibly avoid it, and then get, while in school, that education which will so prepare you for the continuance of the process of life-long self-eduction that you will be able to fill the largest place and do the largest work of which you are capable.

Be not deceived by conceit or by excessive modesty. The church and the world needs educated men; it needs no other kind. Measure yourself and weigh yourself and give yourself the kind of an education that will fit you for your largest possible service.

XI

THE USE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT TODAY[11]

THE ULTIMATE aim of all New Testament study is the enrichment of human life, and, of course, specifically in those aspects of life which we commonly include under the terms "moral" and "religious." We may distinguish four uses of the New Testament by modern men.

1. *For the purposes of history.*—All history must be written on the basis of records of the past of one sort or another. All such records must be interpreted, i.e., their meaning must be discovered, in order that they may be available for the purposes of the historian. If these records consist of written statements—literature in the most inclusive use of the term—the immediate product of the process of interpretation is, as already pointed out, the thought of the writer. This thought is itself a historic fact of prime importance for the historian. From such data the history of thought is constructed, and of all history none is more important than the history of thought. It was the recognition of the importance of the history of thought that led in the last century to the development of biblical theology as a distinct division of the field of biblical study. For biblical theology, as it is understood in modern times, is simply the history of religious thinking in Israel and in the early Christian church in so far as that history can be traced in the books of the Bible. If eventually this discipline shall disappear again from the field of theological study, it will be because it is recognized, on the one hand, that the history of thought cannot profitably be separated from that of the other aspects of life, and on the

[11] An essay printed in *A Guide to the Study of the Christian Religion* (1916), G. B. Smith, editor.

other, that the thought of which the books of the Bible bear witness cannot be separated from the life of the period of which we have evidence in extra-biblical literature.

Meantime, it is beyond all question clear that the biblical historian, whether dealing with thought or external event, must do his work genetically. In other words, he must not only set forth facts, but must set these facts in relation, associating them with their antecedent types of thought and showing their relation to later developments.

But whether we are dealing with the history of thought or of event, in order that the data yielded by interpretation may take their proper place in the completed history, the authors must be dated and located as exactly as possible, and, if possible, identified. That certain opinions were once held is a fact of little value to the historian unless he can with some measure of approximation determine when, where and by whom they were held. Hence the necessity of literary criticism to determine authorship, date, and location, not only as a preliminary and aid to interpretation, but also as an indispensable condition of the use of its results by the historian.

Whether to this process by which the history of opinions is discovered it is necessary to add a work of criticism in order to determine the correctness of the opinions depends, from the historian's point of view, on the character of the opinions. With the correctness of Paul's opinions on matters of theology and morals the historian as such is not concerned. That Paul held them itself makes them data for the history of opinion, i.e., for biblical theology. But when the matters on which statements are made are themselves matters of history, as, for example, when Luke affirms that Jesus was born when Quirinus was governor of Syria, or that Paul preached in the synagogue of Thessalonica for three Sabbaths, to the work of interpretation there must be added a further process

in order to ascertain not only that Luke thought thus and so, but also what the historic fact was. For this purpose all the available evidence, whether found in the New Testament, or on ancient monuments, or in the writings of Greek or Roman historians, must be brought to bear, testimony compared with testimony, and that finally accepted as fact which, so accepted, best accounts for all the evidence.

Nor can the student altogether escape the necessity for far-reaching investigations and the use of general conclusions based on extensive study in the realm of biology, history, or philosophy. It must always be remembered that the record is that which requires to be accounted for. This is the fixed fact: that the record affirms, for example, that Jesus was born without human paternity; that Stephen, when accused before the Sanhedrin, made a certain speech; that Peter, when imprisoned in Jerusalem, was released by an angel and guided out of the prison, the gates opening of themselves. It is not the historian's task, or within his province, simply to deny the assertion or expunge the record, but to discover what is the most probable genesis of the record. Is it a correct interpretation of veritable experiences, or a misinterpretation, or a modification of an account which was originally one or the other of these, or a poetic expression of more prosaic facts which we ourselves are liable to misread through misinterpretation of its character?

In the consideration of these and other possible explanations of the fact of the record, account must be taken of such matters as the way in which the New Testament books—especially the narrative books—arose, as this is disclosed, for example, by extensive and minute study of the relation of the Synoptic Gospels to one another; the way in which the men of the first Christian century thought and reasoned in reference to what may be called the natural and the super-

natural; the total evidence of biology as to the possibility of parthenogenesis, and the total evidence of history as to the probability of the occurrence of unique exceptions to otherwise universal laws. The eventual verdict of the historian will be the acceptance of that as fact which, being so accepted, best accounts for the existence of the record as it stands. Thus the New Testament scholar, in his character as historian becomes far more than an interpreter and cannot escape those large responsibilities which fall to the historian in general.

2. *For the purposes of theology and ethics.*—In the realm of theological and ethical thought the student of the New Testament not only finds certain opinions expressed, but discovers the historic fact that these opinions were held and advocated by those great historic persons whose life and works gave birth to Christianity. It also falls within his task as a historian to discover how these teachers and writers influenced one another and how they were severally influenced by the thought of their predecessors and contemporaries, whether Jewish, Greek, Roman, or Oriental. In other words, the New Testament historian deals with genetic relations, not simply with unrelated facts. It is within his scope to discover not only how far the author of the Fourth Gospel, for example, was influenced by Paul and what use he made of the synoptists, but also how far he was affected by the Stoic philosophy, the Judaeo-Greek type of thought exemplified in Philo, or the Orientalism which was sweeping over the Græco-Roman world in his day.

But all this falls strictly within the sphere of history. It may, indeed, throw important light upon questions of value. To discover, if such be the case, that a certain opinion of Paul was absorbed by him from an oriental religion which as a whole has little claim to be of exceptionally high religious

value may properly affect one's judgment of the weight which is to be given to such an opinion as compared with one which is found to be the product of a personal and profoundly ethical experience of the apostle himself. Yet origins do not of themselves determine values. To label a doctrine oriental is not to prove it false, nor does marking it Hebrew prove it true.

Questions of boundary are usually difficult to settle. It is more important to make clear distinctions in one's mind between questions of fact and origin and those of value and truth than to determine just where the boundary line lies between New Testament study and systematic theology. The former are clearly within the sphere of the New Testament student, and in dealing with the latter one is certainly approaching, if not entering, the domain of the theologian and ethicist. Perhaps it is best to say that New Testament scholarship has discharged its duty when it has answered the questions of history, including those of origin, and delivered its historic results to the theologian. It may then be left to the latter to say how these results shall be used to contribute to the ends of his science.

3. *For the development of personal character.*—The New Testament presents to us certain great and admirable characters—Peter, John, Paul, Jesus—and a few examples to be shunned—Judas, Ananias, and Sapphira. It also abounds in ethical and religious teachings, some in the form of specific injunctions, others in that of broad, inclusive principles. That the character of the noble men of the early Christian church, above all and far above them all, that of Jesus, presents an ideal of character, both in its attitude toward God and in its relation to men, which makes a powerful appeal to the human mind and conscience and effectively incites to efforts to achieve that ideal, the history of the Christian church

gives abundant evidence. The noblest men of the Christian centuries have drawn their inspiration from Jesus, and the noblest achievements have found their suggestion and their impetus in him.

Only slightly less effective have been the teachings of the teachers and writers of the New Testament. If the influence of these has been less uniformly good, the explanation probably lies largely in two facts: first, the teachings of the New Testament as they stand—and the church generally has not been at pains to distinguish sharply between the teachings of Jesus and those of his followers, whether expressed as their own or ascribed to him—are on a somewhat lower level and somewhat more easily open to misapprehension than is the character of Jesus or even that of Paul. Thus the literalist who has resorted to the book as his authority has gained a smaller advantage than he who has turned to its great personalities for inspiration. The second reason, which is closely connected with the first, is that many interpreters of the New Testament, failing to penetrate deeply enough into its meaning, have taken its teachings in a legalistic spirit, thus reversing the real intention and missing the deeper thought of both Jesus and Paul. Legalism, to be sure, if its individual precepts be sufficiently lofty, tends to produce a type of character having a certain nobility, as is illustrated in ancient Pharisaism and Puritanism of the seventeenth century. But, as illustrated by these same examples, it fails to produce the highest type of character.

Alike, therefore, from the point of view of sound principles of interpretation and from that of the pragmatic test of actual effects, it appears that the highest benefit in personal character is achieved, not by treating the New Testament as a body of rules of conduct, but on the one hand as a book of history, presenting to us in biographical narratives of sur-

passing interest the highest ideals of character, not to be copied in detail, but to be emulated in spirit and motive, and on the other hand as a transcendent example of the "literature of power," setting forth in many forms with many specific illustrations the central principles of the religion of faith in God and universal love for all members of the community of sentient beings. This was both the religion and the morality of Jesus and of his great apostle.

If it be asked whether the teachings of the New Testament and the example of Jesus are not to be accepted as authoritative, the answer must be (and this is largely the point of view of the New Testament itself) that in the realm of belief that only can claim authority which can establish itself as true, and in the realm of conduct that only which can establish itself as good, not for the individual apart from the community, but for the community and for the individual as a member of the community. The New Testament as a whole is the greatest aid to the production of good character of any piece of literature in existence; but it is most effective in the production of character when its authority is grounded in the truth and excellence of its teachings, pragmatically tested, not the truth in its authority; when emphasis is laid on its great central principles rather than on specific injunctions, and when the latter are severally put to the test of their conformity to the central principle and the fruitage in life.

4. *For religious teaching and preaching.*—Closely associated with the use of the books for the development of personal character is their employment in religious teaching and preaching. For centuries Christian preaching has been based very largely on the New Testament, and Christian teachers have found in it not only a storehouse of texts, but a wealth of inspirational and instructional material. The discriminative judgment that has led men who were endeavoring to lift

their fellow-men to higher moral and religious planes to seek their material in this collection of ancient books has a sound basis.

Nor is there any reason to anticipate that this judgment will be reversed or seriously modified by the results of scolarly research. The problems with which Jesus and Paul dealt are, in part, problems of perennial and deep interest to serious-minded men of all ages; in part, problems that are again to the front in our own day. Not only the specific answer which they gave to these questions, but even more the way in which they dealt with them, the profound and far-reaching principles at which they arrived in their consideration of their tasks, above all the ideals of character which their lives exemplify, have always exerted, and today still exert, a powerful and healthful influence in stimulating men to noble effort and guiding them in ways of wisdom and righteousness. The preacher who turns away from these deep wells of thought and life to shallower streams, and staler, though more modern, cisterns, makes a serious mistake. The preacher must, indeed, be a man of his own day, a prophet to his own time. But to speak effectively to his contemporaries he needs to know the great epochs and the great teachers of the past, and he cannot afford to neglect the books of the Bible in which preachers of all the Christian centuries have found unsurpassed instruction and unequaled inspiration.

The value of these books for the purposes of the teacher and preacher is in no way diminished, but rather increased, by the recognition of the facts respecting their origin and authority, and a use of them in accordance with the facts. The student and preacher who discovers that our New Testament books were in no small measure the product of controversies and differences of opinion, of struggle within the souls of men and between men, learns indeed not to estimate

all parts of the New Testament as of equal value for all purposes or from the religious point of view. But this discovery makes him a better, not a worse, preacher.

The facts of history have shown that Paul was in error in his teaching in I Thessalonians about the coming of the Lord in the clouds of heaven. It is a palpable infidelity to truth to affirm that this teaching was true; it is a double error to transfer it to the present time and reaffirm it for our own day. Some portions of his teachings about marriage and spiritual gifts, however adapted to meet the needs of the Corinthians, are impossible of reaffirmation today. Whether the preacher in the pulpit passes these things over in silence and limits himself to things that have attested themselves as true by the test of human experience, as may often be his wisest course, or the teacher finds it necessary to deal with them explicitly, honestly, and frankly, as he must if they come up for consideration at all, both the preaching and the teaching will be made more effective religiously and morally than when it is assumed that all the views of the New Testament writers are equally valuable.

Nor are these superseded teachings thereby simply remanded to the historical museum. By dealing with them honestly and frankly the religious teacher of today may find them of great value. They were vital elements of the experience of the early church. They illustrate how inevitable it is that religious experience shall find expression in terms of the thought of the time, and the development of religious thinking march abreast with the general intellectual progress of the race. The study of them will, on the one hand, heighten our estimate of Jesus, as we discover how keenly his vision penetrated to the fundamental facts of religion and escaped being warped by the thought of his day, and on the other hand, make us watchful of our own bias and prejudices and

tolerant of what seems to us the one-sidedness and provincialism of other thinkers.

But above all it is important that the recognition of those elements of the New Testament which no longer serve the moral and religious needs of modern men should never be allowed to obscure from our vision or exclude from our preaching those far more central elements which are of perpetual value and which are capable of being used today with almost limitless power for the transformation of character and the elevation of the lives of men. All human experience has in it moral value for teaching and preaching, and all may therefore be legitimately used for these purposes. But it would be a great mistake to overlook the exceptional value of the books of the Bible for these purposes, or give them anything lower than the place of first importance. The Bible, especially the New Testament, is still the preacher's most valuable source of inspiration and thought. To neglect it is to enfeeble his ministry and diminish his power. To study it diligently and intelligently, while also keeping himself awake to the problems of the modern world, is to fit himself to be a messenger of power, a prophet of God, to his own day and generation.

XII

IS THE GOLDEN RULE WORKABLE BETWEEN NATIONS?[12]

I. WHAT THE GOLDEN RULE MEANS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

THE GOLDEN Rule between individuals is not altogether as simple of understanding and easy of application as it is sometimes thought to be. If two people were living alone on an isolated island without other inhabitants and without outside communication, for each to do to the other as he wished, or ought to wish, that other to act toward him, for each to love his neighbor as himself, would be a task easily defined, however difficult it might be actually to perform. But the moment we emerge into the actual world, to the moral difficulty of really loving our neighbor as ourselves there is added the intellectual difficulty of determining what such regard for the interests of others equally with our own really calls for in the complicated relations and circumstances of life. For, in the actual world, just as there is no isolated individual who can define what is right in terms of himself only, so there is no isolated pair who can settle their conduct and relations to one another without regard to the interests and welfare of other people. Each of us is a member of any number of pairs and larger groups, and in our attempts to do to another as we would that other should do to us, we can never ignore or forget those many others to whom the Golden Rule demands that we should do as we would that they should do to us.

The application of the Golden Rule is not like paying a

[12] An article published in the *Biblical World* (March, 1918).

debt. If I owe you fifty dollars, that is a matter between you and me. I owe it without reference to anyone else. Even this statement has its qualifications, as in the case of the bankrupt, but broadly speaking it holds. The very universality of the Golden Rule, on the other hand, changes its character, and demands that in applying it to any one person I shall not forget those others to whom also it applies. I cannot decide what I ought to do for other people's children without considering the welfare of my own children. I cannot decide what to do for the public without remembering my family, and vice versa. I cannot determine my duty to the poor neighbor on my left hand without remembering the equally poor family on my right hand.

And this makes it evident that the so-called Golden Rule is not, in actual application, a rule at all. It is a principle of wide application, and in the actual relations of life, because they are so complex, it is difficult to apply. It means that in determining my conduct I shall count that I am—as in fact I am whether I recognize it or not—a member of the community, and that the welfare of every other member of the community is as valuable as my own, and shall shape my conduct accordingly.

Negatively, it means that I shall abstain from conducting my own affairs to my advantage regardless of the welfare of others. It forbids me to engage in a business which, however profitable to me, is harmful to the community, or to conduct a business, in itself legitimate, in a way that makes it injurious to my fellows. It forbids me to engage in any practice or habit which, though pleasurable to me, brings damage, unhappiness, or ruin to another.

Positively, it means that I shall not only be polite and courteous to others because I myself like to be treated with

courtesy, not only that I shall be a gentleman to all but that I shall plan and order my whole life in such way that it shall make the largest contribution to the welfare of the community. It demands that I shall consider who are really members of my community, how wide its extent is, and shall take into account in my plan of life all who are really fellow-members with me of a community, sharers of a common life.

It does not require that I shall assume responsibility for the welfare of the world—that is not only absurdly impossible, but, if it were possible, would deprive others of a responsibility and of a joy in it which belongs to them—but it does require that I shall take my share of that responsibility.

It does not demand that I shall disregard my own welfare or happiness—I am to love my neighbor *as myself*—but it means that I shall merge these in the pool of the common welfare and find my joy in the common joy. What king worthy of the name could find happiness in his own comfort and ease while his people were wretched and starving? We easily recognize his duty to find his happiness with, not separate from, his people. The Golden Rule—or, as James calls it, the Royal Law—bids each of us be kingly in our attitude toward all our fellows.

The wider our relationships, the broader our vision, the more complicated does the problem become. Within the walls of a home it is fairly easy to apply the rule. Happy that family in which the children, under the influence of parental precept and example, acquire almost unconsciously the habit of thinking as quickly of the other's comfort as of their own, and so prepare themselves for the more difficult applications of this principle in a larger world.

In a farming community, when each family has its farm and there is little conscious relation to the outside world, ordinary conditions will call for little more than a negative ap-

plication of the principle. No farmer will steal his neighbor's crop, nor allow his stock to trample it down and destroy it. But if a barn with its accumulated feed for the winter is consumed by fire, or a farmer falls ill and cannot plow his field or sow his seed, there will be opportunity and need for a positive application of the principle—for a counting of a neighbor's welfare as dear as one's own, and foregoing something of one's own comfort for the sake of his.

But the day is sure to come when the farmer discovers that the group of farmers is not the whole of the world, or of his community. Not far away is another farming community whose interests are in part identical, in part in competition, with his own. There is a market town with which he must trade, a city to which his crop eventually goes, a land across the sea which needs his wheat or his beef, and whose need helps to fix the price he receives for it. And thus he discovers that in fact he is a citizen of the world, his relations are international, his community not local but state-wide, nation-wide, world-wide.

And what is true of the farmer is true of us all. Only by shutting our eyes to obvious facts can we fail to be aware that we are citizens of a world, and that if we take into account actual relationships we must face the question whether the Golden Rule is workable between nations.

There is in fact no ground on which we can urge its application between individuals which will not also demand that we consider how it would apply between nations. The nations of the world are interrelated, more and more closely so. Their relations as nations react most powerfully on the happiness and welfare of individuals and communities. If these are valuable, it is imperative that we consider how they will be affected by applying to nations the principle which

experience has shown to be most advantageous between individuals and smaller groups.

Let us consider then:

II. THE APPLICATION OF THE GOLDEN RULE BETWEEN NATIONS

Manifestly, as between individuals, this will demand, negatively, that a nation abstain from any course of action which, however much to its advantage, will work injustice to a neighbor nation or inflict on it any damage save only such damage as, being incidental to some larger good, any nation ought to be willing to suffer for the common good. If my neighbor owns a city lot next to mine, it may deprive me of some light which I now enjoy if he builds upon it. Yet I could not ask him to leave it unoccupied that I might enjoy this unearned increment of advantage, nor would the Golden Rule demand that he should do so, since to do so would be, in excess of justice, to save me from a lesser loss at cost of a larger one inflicted on himself. So the extension of a nation's commerce in wholly legitimate ways may incidentally diminish the profits of another nation. Yet as the world is now organized such free competition could not be forbidden, nor can it be regarded as contrary to the Golden Rule, since it is the best method which we have yet discovered of contributing to the greatest good of the greatest number.

But if this principle does not forbid free competition, it manifestly does forbid the denial of the rights of small nations because they are small, the exploitation of a backward nation by a more advanced one for the benefit of the latter regardless of the welfare of the former, the invasion of a country by trades, like that in alcoholic liquors and opium, which tend to destroy its happiness and welfare.

But with a nation as with an individual the Golden Rule

is far more than prohibitory and the positive applications are at least as important as the negative. If a boy in your community were suddenly left without father, mother, older brother or sister, it would be a miserably inadequate application of the Golden Rule for the neighbors to abstain from beating him and leave him as best he could to feed and clothe and educate himself. The Golden Rule calls for positive action.

And positively applied to nations, the principle demands that we organize and conduct our national life, not with a view to profiting as much as we can at the expense of other nations, but to making our largest possible contribution to the world's welfare.

This will demand a healthy life at home. In a sense this is fundamental to everything else. Our own people are valuable. Loving one's neighbor nation as one's self does not forbid, but requires us to consider the welfare of our own people. How can a nation that is indifferent to the welfare of its own youth, its own laboring classes, its own dependents, exert any strong and healthful influence on other nations? It will neither set an example worth following—and between nations as between individuals example is one of the most effective influences—nor possess the men and the resources with which to make a direct contribution to the welfare of other nations. The Golden Rule between nations demands that each nation shall do its utmost to maintain at home a pure, strong, healthful life, all classes working, not each for its own interests, but all for the interests of all. Our liquor traffic, our organized vice, our luxury, our social injustice, our conflicts between classes, even our personal vices and selfishness are not only defects of our own life, blots upon our own civilization; they are also violations of the Golden Rule between nations.

But we have not fulfilled the royal law when we purify and develop our own national life. The nation that lives for itself, however high its ideals or achievements, lacks the essential characteristic of a Christian nation.

We must be ready to share our knowledge with other nations, and, indeed, make active efforts to transmit it to them. This is at bottom the motive and the justification of the missionary enterprise. We have, as an inheritance from the past and an acquirement, a religion and a morality which, however imperfectly we have embodied them in our national life, are the best of our possessions. We have reason to know that they would be good for other nations. An essential element of them is the altruistic spirit—the spirit of the Golden Rule. We can but pass these on to those who need them—not in a spirit of conquest, not as something that we force upon them, but as a precious possession which we share with them, at cost to ourselves indeed, but with a reflex benefit that outweighs all possible cost.

The principle that applies to the Christian message, the Christian principle, applies also to all our knowledge as far as it can be of use to other peoples. Because of this we establish schools in which we teach not only the Bible and theology, but the physical sciences, medicine, history, political economy, and political science. For these too are inheritances and acquisitions which the nations of the world need only less than they need the Christian message itself, and which we could not withhold without infidelity to that message.

But as we carry to other nations our knowledge—and by the way learn from them in return—it is incumbent on us also, as need arises, to give them our money. When San Francisco is shaken by an earthquake and ravaged with fire, Boston and Chicago come instantly to her rescue, as, a generation

ago, all the cities of the land came to the rescue of Chicago and Boston. But national frontiers are no longer impassable boundaries to our applications of the Golden Rule. An earthquake in Sicily, a terrible disaster in Halifax, a famine in China call forth instant and generous help. And few acts of a nation are more effective in creating international friendship than these speedy responses to the cry of human need. In a private letter received from Nova Scotia occur the following sentences:

I tell you, we shall never be able to say enough about the wonderful help the States have sent—the response was so spontaneous and everything done even before it was asked for. It brought tears to all our eyes when they came and told us a little of what had been done by the United States on Friday night. You know we have always been a trifle contemptuous of the United States since the war on account of their prolonged delay in entering the war. But never again! They can have anything I've got, and I don't think I feel any differently from anyone else down here.

The following words from the *Montreal Star* are in the same vein:

Almost before the smoke-pall over the city of Halifax had blown away, the generous heart of the people of the United States had found practical answer to that black signal of distress. Before the people of the stricken city had themselves realized the magnitude of the catastrophe, relief train after relief train was tearing northward loaded with everything that intelligent sympathy could suggest for the relief of suffering and manned by skilful, warm-hearted men and women, eager as they were able, whose desire was to be of service. Behind them Congress, representing the whole United States, pledged a munificent sum to aid the sufferers. The explosion at Halifax was a national catastrophe felt throughout Canada. The thanks of all Canada, therefore, go out to those who, in this hour of trial, were so quick and so magnificently generous in their aid. "He gives twice who gives quickly," is an old saying, true as ever today. Canada will not soon forget that in time of great loss and great grief American sympathy, American skill, and American money were given, not only twice but tenfold.

But the Golden Rule calls for more than example, impartation of knowledge, and gifts of money. It demands a friendly interest in the welfare of other nations—a recognition of their individuality and their rights which will in general allow them to develop their own national life without constraint from us, along the lines of their own national genius and ability. This is one of the most precious possessions alike of individual and of nation. The orphan boy needs care and friendship, but he has the right to live his own life if he lives it with due regard to the rights of others. No parent, even, has the right to constrain his boy with a genius for art to become a merchant or a manufacturer, nor the natural farmer to become a lawyer. But if a parent may not do this with his son, how shall one nation do it for another? Bigness, force, confers no right of international control. Every nation has its own contribution to make to the world's welfare, and size is no measure of the value of that contribution. Has Greece given less to the world than Russia; Palestine, than China? In his last days President William R. Harper said, "I have never doubted that God had given me a work to do in the world which, if I did not do it, would go undone." How much more true it is of nations! The nation that lays violent hands on the life and genius of another nation; that, because of its superior brute force or larger armies, says to that other nation, "You shall not live your own life, but shall accept my ideals and subordinate your genius to mine," is making unpardonable egotism the excuse for national murder and international robbery. The world's highest interests are served, not by the enforced standardizing of national life, but by freedom of development and mutual recognition of the right of every nation to develop according to its own genius and ability.

But the recognition of this right leads naturally to the

recognition of its correlative duty. For there may arise—there have arisen—extreme cases of the violation of this principle on the part of a strong nation against a weak, calling for intervention on the part of other nations in the interest of the weak. For the Golden Rule is not, as I have said, wholly a negative thing. It sometimes demands interference in defense of the oppressed. Some years ago a group of university professors returning home from an evening engagement heard shouts of pain and distress issuing from a cottage that they were passing. Hesitating but a moment as to their duty, they entered the house, found a father and son, one or both of them intoxicated, engaged in a quarrel in which one had stabbed the other dangerously. A part of them remained to prevent further injuries, while the rest sought physician and police. Ordinarily a man's house is his castle, which no one may enter unbidden, but there are limitations to the rule—the intervention of a superior principle. Ordinarily if two neighbors quarrel the rest do well to keep hands off. But there are times when intervention is demanded by the rule of love. So, it seems to me, it is with nations. There come times when one nation must protest against injustice done or threatened against another, and must, if need be, sustain its protest.

But this brings us to the difficult question whether, if one nation may on occasion become the friend and defender of another, it may also at times become its guardian, guide and protector. The question is too large to be discussed adequately in these pages. I will only venture to lay down two principles.

One of these is that the right of self-government is not inalienable. Individuals may lose it by crime or by illness of body or brain. Families may lose it by incompetence, and the neighbors or the state be obliged to step in. Cities may lose it by riot and murder. States may lose it by the incompe-

tence by which they become dangerous to themselves and to other nations. Palestine lost it in 63 B.C., and there is more than one utterance of Jesus to show that he clearly recognized this fact and warned his nation against the folly of attempting to cure internal weakness by throwing off the external power that sufficed in some measure to compensate for that weakness.

The second principle is that any nation that assumes the office of guardian to another is bound to do it in the spirit of the Golden Rule, not for exploitation and self-aggrandizement, but for the good of the other nation and of other nations at least as much as for its own. It is bound scrupulously to regard the rights of the dependent nation and is under solemn obligation to administer its guardianship with a view to restoring the guarded nation to independence or granting it partnership as soon as a process of education can make it fit for such a position.

Is the Golden Rule workable between nations? With confidence I affirm it is both more needful and more workable between nations than between individuals. More needful because the harm done when nations do not follow it is upon a far vaster scale than when individuals violate it. Its disregard by individuals may have far-reaching consequences. But when nations set it at naught, the issues are certain to be far-reaching and wide-sweeping, involving not hundreds, but thousands and millions in the stream of devastation. Now that the world has become so small, now that nations touch elbows as once tribes and individuals did, now that they call to each other out of their windows across a narrow stream that electricity bridges in an instant, and jostle one another in the public highways of the world, the only salvation of the world from measureless disaster is the observance of the Golden Rule between nations. And it is more practicable be-

tween nations than between individuals because nations act —ought to act, and usually do act—with more deliberation, less under the influence of sudden passion than individuals. Their relations are defined in compacts which they have solemnly bound themselves not to break, and not hastily to annul. There is time for sober second thought, time for the best thought of the nation to be brought to bear on the situation. There is no excuse for haste. But we must train ourselves to think and deliberate, and especially must train ourselves and our nation to recognize that the Golden Rule is the supreme law of nations—pre-eminently adapted to nations, its obedience indispensable to their welfare and the safety of the world. The Golden Rule is—it is the *only* rule that is—workable between nations.

XIII

THE CHALLENGE OF THE PRESENT CRISIS TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY[13]

THAT THERE is a crisis no intelligent American will deny. In a sense we are always facing a crisis. History is never stagnant. Every day is a judgment day, because we are always making decisions which are fraught with important consequences for the future. It is only relatively that there are areas of calm in the stream of history. But we speak without exaggeration when we call the present hour an exceptionally important and critical one in the history of America and of American Christianity.

In a sense, at least, the war is over, and down from the mountain tops of exaltation, enthusiasm, and self-sacrifice on which for two years we as a nation lived, we have plunged into the valley of commonplace, of money-getting, of self-seeking, and of partisanship with a speed that none of us could have believed possible. Perhaps we sometimes forget that before we entered the war we were not wholly at peace with one another, and not wholly unselfish in our aims and undertakings. Was there not in 1914 a problem of the rising cost of living? Were there not excess, if not excessive, profits in 1915? Was there not class strife, and were there not threatened strikes in 1916? In large part we have but resumed life where it was interrupted by our participation in the war. But doubtless also we have resumed it with a new

[13] An address delivered in October, 1919. It has not been possible to ascertain the exact circumstances attending the delivery of this address. Quite clearly, however, it was prepared in connection with Dr. Burton's organization of the Board of Promotion of the Northern Baptist Convention.

intensity that is in part the result of the reaction from the extraordinary conditions that existed during the war.

Be that as it may, the present situation undoubtedly presents to the American nation, and especially to American Christianity, a challenge which will test both to the utmost.

First of all it challenges our intelligence. It will discover whether as a nation, as a church, we know enough, are intelligent enough, to deal with problems of such magnitude as now face us in a world that is larger and more complex than any we have hitherto known. Certainly it is not reassuring to read in newspapers that are supposed to represent the brains of the country arguments whose underlying premise, often openly expressed, is that America can now return to the measure of isolation that was possible at the end of the eighteenth century. There is room, no doubt, for difference of opinion as to the extent and character of our participation in the affairs of nations across the seas. But that all the marvelous things that have happened in a century in bringing the nations to closer quarters one with another, that our own enormous increase in population, wealth, power, and influence can have developed, and not imperatively demand of us, whether we choose it or not, a different course of action from that which was possible and right in the days of Washington and Jefferson—this is unthinkable. But if our policy is to be different, what is it to be? What are to be its broad principles? What are to be its specific applications? Have we studied history thoroughly enough, do we know our own history and that of other nations well enough, to answer these questions? Are we not right in saying that the present situation challenges, and coming days will challenge, our intelligence as it has not been challenged before?

But it is not in the realm of politics only that intelligence is demanded. The aspects of life that are distinctly religious,

the tasks of the church, are no less important than those of politics, and call no less loudly for intelligence and thought. We cannot, for example, close our eyes to the fact that the problem of the relationships of Christian denominations to one another has reached a stage which demands earnest thought and the wisest possible action.

The union of the allied forces at the suggestion of Pershing and under the leadership of Foch turned the tide of war in favor of the Allies, saved thousands of lives, and hastened the coming of peace. Not less significant would be the union of the Christian forces in the war for righteousness. No intelligent Christian can fail to see that a united Christendom would be far stronger than a divided Christianity. If organic union is not practicable—as many of us believe it is not—it is incumbent on us to find what measure or kind of unity or cooperation is feasible. The task is a difficult one? It certainly is. Therefore we say it challenges our intelligence, demands our largest possible contribution of consecrated brain power.

Not less certainly does the task of the church in foreign lands challenge our intelligence. Never since the days of Paul has a universal religion seemed so within the range of practical possibilities as it does today. All barriers are down. All doors are open. All religions are in the melting-pot. All systems are being tried by the test of their effects. If, as we believe, Christianity is adapted to the whole human race, if it can solve the perplexities, meet the needs, and promote the welfare of all nations, now is its opportunity as never before to prove this and win its way among all peoples. Never were the motives for the spread of pure religion as strong as they are today. The nations of the earth can no longer live in ignorance of one another or in indifference to one another. The foreign missionary is no longer the ambassador of a chimerical idea, the apostle of a forlorn hope, an enthusiast to be

admired and smiled at. He is the representative, not only of the religion of Jesus Christ, but of international good will; the creator, not only of Christian churches, but of an international civilization; not a sectarian ecclesiastic, but an ambassador of all communions and a world-statesman. His work, and, not less the work of these agencies that send him out and stand behind him, calls for breadth of vision and of sympathy, for courageous planning, for patient and wise execution. It challenges the intelligence of the church as it never was challenged before.

But more serious even than the challenge of our intelligence is the challenge of our character. With all our ignorance, we know at least that he whom the Christian church calls Lord announced the principle of love as that which ought to govern in all the relations between men and women. We know that he bade us love our neighbors as ourselves, even though those neighbors be hostile to us, and to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us. The church has proclaimed these principles. Christians profess allegiance to them. The nation has at least heard them. Yet day after day we read in our great daily papers, which for a little time seemed to have accepted nobler principles, the open advocacy of the crassest national selfishness, and, what is more disheartening, find such advocacy approved by Christian men. Not only this, but what comes still closer home is the painful evidence on every hand that in a day of rising prices and profits increased in dollars at least, the determination to grasp for one's self and one's associates is, in alarmingly wide circles, stronger than the desire to do justice to all.

During the war, under the stimulus of our own danger as a nation and of the splendid spirit of self-sacrifice for the world's welfare with which many of our sons and daughters gave themselves to the service of mankind, it seemed as if we

had seen a great light and accepted a nobler principle of action than had hitherto governed us. The nation seemed almost to have adopted as its own the principle which had been the great motive of the missionary enterprise of the Christian church. Are we to lose all that we seemed to have gained? Or, after the days of reaction that are so apt to come after a time of great struggle, will the church address itself with renewed energy to its task of giving of its best to all nations of the world, and shall that spirit of good will to all nations which we dreamed was in a measure pervading our whole people again assert itself? It is a grave responsibility which rests upon the Christian church at this hour. The church is the peculiar representative and custodian of the missionary spirit—the spirit of good will toward other races. It is the task of the church, not only to express that spirit in the sending of preachers of the Gospel and physicians and teachers to other nations, but so to inculcate it at home that it shall become the keynote of our international policy. Whether the church sees and meets its responsibility, whether it succeeds or fails in this great task, will mightily affect the whole future of the world, not in respect to religion only, but in reference to every aspect of human welfare. The immediate future is big with possibilities of good and evil.

Nationally, internationally, economically, ecclesiastically, all things are shaken, and they have not yet settled down into their new situation. Are we entering into a period of national antagonism, strife, and selfishness which shall make all the enormous costs of the war in life and treasure, and the monuments of civilization, sheer uncompensated loss, or out of the present welter shall we emerge on at least a little higher level than that which we occupied in that fool's paradise in which we were living in July, 1914? Is the life of our nation to be rent and torn by strife of classes, a war of wealth

and workers that shall embitter all our lives and those of our children after us, or shall the voice of reason and of justice and of love make itself heard above the clamor of selfishness and ignorance, and there emerge a higher type of national life than we have hitherto known? Shall the churches emphasize their minor differences, struggle for pre-eminence and self-aggrandizement, or will they see their larger opportunity and their common duty and, if not in organic union, at least in cordial co-operation in the things for which they labor in common, attack together their common task of making a world dominated by the spirit of Jesus?

Facing these questions, what is the duty of the church?

First, it is incumbent upon the church in every possible way—by the voice of the preacher, by the printed page, by the conduct of its members—to announce with unmistakable clearness the great principles of Jesus. The values of the world are in human lives. All men, all women, all children are valuable—infinitely so. All are entitled to a fair share of the goods of life. Human slavery in every form is un-Christian. The civilization that sacrifices personalities to things, or the welfare of the many to the greed of the few, is un-Christian and is not worthy to live. Moreover, human welfare is achieved, not by each individual, each family, each class, and each nation seeking its own welfare, but in all seeking the welfare of all. The problems of society, national and international, are solved by the Golden Rule intelligently applied. They can be solved in no other way. The duty of the hour is the acceptance of the law of love as our principle of action, as individuals, families, classes, churches, nations. The nation, the class, the church that seeks aggrandizement of itself rather than human welfare has missed the path of Jesus, the only path of prosperity. The Sabbath, the school, the state, the church were made for man, not man for them.

The second great duty of the Christian church is the reaffirmation of God as a factor in human history and in human lives. It must stand for the great truth that while men are real and powerful factors in human history, and cannot escape the responsibility that goes with that fact, yet there is a higher power, a higher intelligence, with which or against which they work. They can hinder his purpose, they can delay his plans, but there are higher plans than theirs, there is a more far-seeing vision than theirs, to which it becomes them to give heed and with which it behooves them to work. With that Greater Mind we do well to take counsel through prayer and the study of his doings in the world. To his will, as far as we can learn it, we do well to bend our wills. In him and the ultimate triumph of his purpose we do well to trust, and by our faith in him steady our own wills and console in darkened hours our own fearful hearts.

And standing for the truth that God is, and for steadfast faith in him, it becomes us also, as much as in us lies, to set before him an open road. The message of the ancient prophet was "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." One of our modern leaders has made us familiar with the phrase, "To give God the right-of-way in our lives." These things we need to do as a nation and as a church. Who of us is wise enough to dictate to God the course which history shall take? Who of us can tell that the measure of the past shall be the measure of the future? Speaking for his God, the prophet of old said, "Remember ye not the former things, neither consider the things of old. Behold I will do a new thing, now shall it spring forth." Today we need to be on our guard against our conservatism, our timidity. We need to keep an open road in our minds, in our lives, in our plans, for the Lord to come and do greater things than ever before.

Keeping thus an open road for God, we need also to make

large plans, bold plans, yet definite and carefully thought-out plans. Such plans we need in every church, in every state, in every division of our work. Between these two duties there is no conflict. We shall be more likely to keep the way open for God if we are planning to do for him and for the world the largest things that seem to us at all possible. His purposes are always greater than ours. The larger ours, the more likely we shall be to make way for his.

Another great duty of the church in this hour is the promotion of education and the permeation of education with Christian ideals. However great the things we plan or accomplish, we can but begin what others will complete. If we labor other men will enter into our labors. And for their share in the tasks that American Christianity will be called upon to undertake they will need both native ability and education. But that education must be charged with Christian principles. To a greater extent than ever before the Christian church must concern itself with seeing to it that its youth is educated and that its education is of a character to give an intelligent conception of Christianity's task and an eager desire to take part in achieving it. We must encourage our boys and girls to get an education, checking if need be, their impetuous eagerness to take part in the great struggle going on before their eyes before they are prepared to do so. We must strengthen our Christian schools; we must throw around all state and city schools the influences of an intelligent and vigorous Christianity.

Finally, because the church must do these things, the great central task will always be the creation of personalities molded and dominated by faith in God and the ideals of Jesus. It is not the business of the church as such to create or to lead political parties. It is not its business to negotiate treaties or to appoint ambassadors. It is its business, jointly

with the family and the school, to produce the men and women who, with clear vision, high purpose, and trained ability, will do all these things, and, doing them, will save the nation and the world. We need men and women who will create and maintain Christian homes, who will found and conduct schools, who will manage great business enterprises on Christian principles, holding the business and the wealth it produces not as a private possession for their own pleasure, but as instruments for the promotion of the welfare of humanity; who will lead parties and hold office and administer the government in accordance with the highest political wisdom and the highest moral principles; men and women whose horizon will be world-wide and whose vision will be as clear as it is farseeing—men and women, in short, who will look at the world as Jesus saw it, and find their joy, not in exploiting it, but in promoting its highest welfare. It is the high task of the church to create the personalities that, filled with the spirit of Jesus, shall face and solve the problems that today confront a perplexed and storm-tossed world.

XIV

OUGHT THE UNITED STATES TO BE A MISSIONARY NATION?[14]

SOME YEARS ago, at a critical moment in China's history, Chang Chih Tung wrote a little book which was translated into English under the title, "Christianity China's Only Hope." Is it not time for some far-sighted American to write a book entitled, "The Adoption of the Missionary Spirit America's Only Hope for Future Greatness"?

But what is the missionary spirit, ideally defined? It is not the spirit of conquest, military, intellectual, or religious. Mohammedanism has been a missionary religion, but not in so far as it has won its converts by force has it been a missionary religion in our sense of the word. The missionary spirit in its truly Christian expression recognizes that people are the center of every problem; that human welfare in its highest sense can never be imposed upon people by force.

He who believes in the mission and destiny of his own nation ought for that very reason to recognize and respect the peculiar genius of every other nation. In his book on Americanization Dr. Charles Brooks well says:

> Americanization does not involve hatred or contempt of other nations. . . . . Many of the truest patriots are the missionaries of the finest world-fraternity. Mazzini, the Italian statesman and patriot, has given beautiful expression to this truth: "Every people has its special mission, which will co-operate toward the fulfilment of the general mission of humanity. That mission constitutes its nationality. Nationality is sacred."

[14] *The Triumph of the Missionary Motive* (1920), chap. vii, published by the Board of Education of the Northern Baptist Convention.

If the missionary spirit meant conquest, every true American would pray that his country might have none of it.

Nor is the missionary spirit identical with propagandist zeal. The propagandist is a man who wants other people to accept his opinions. A certain element and form of this spirit must doubtless enter into the effort and plan of the missionary. But when the missionary becomes simply a propagandist he has missed the essence of the missionary spirit. The missionary who has really caught the spirit of Jesus is supremely interested in people and their welfare, and while right opinions contribute mightily to human welfare, the two are not identical. Life is more than thought. Character is shaped by other agencies than dogma. Personalities are more potential than opinions. Conduct shapes character as truly as convictions control conduct, and conduct comes as often by example as by precept. The true missionary is interested in having people believe the truth because he knows that the truth will make them free. But he knows that freedom does not come as the result of adopting opinions that have no root in experience. Enlightened minds, liberated personalities, wills set free for the highest—these are the goals of his ambition; not reciters of creeds, however true and vital these creeds may be to the missionary who propagates them.

The essence of the missionary spirit in the Christian sense of the words is the desire that others shall possess what we have ourselves found to be the real goods of life—a desire not vaguely cherished as an unessential sentiment, but affecting action. This spirit will necessarily, because of difference in circumstances, find various expression in different persons; a different expression in an individual from that which it finds in a group; and different in a voluntary group from that which it finds in a nation. In the last analysis the missionary

spirit is simply good will to one's fellow-men as distinguished from selfish individualism.

One of the things that all history shows, but recent history most strikingly, is that there is but one morality for us all, whether individuals or groups, whether small groups or large. That which is evil between persons does not become good between groups of people, nor does that which is a virtue between individuals become a vice when practiced by multitudes in relation to one another.

There are, indeed, some things which an individual can do which a nation cannot do, because doing them as a nation involves either a practically impossible consent of all the members of the nation or a coercion of the minority by the majority, which is itself immoral. We are well agreed, in America at least, that the nation ought not to send out men for the purpose of establishing Presbyterian churches, even if the Presbyterians constituted a majority of the nation. But this does not change the great fact that moral *principles* are universal and apply to nations as well as to individuals. For a nation to be grasping, unjust, cruel is as truly wrong as for an individual, and the effect of the injustice and cruelty is likely to be far more widespread and harmful than in any case of an individual. The problem of national morality is a difficult one and perhaps has never been fully thought out. But certainly it is a problem to which it becomes us now to give heed. For, on the one side, we have lately witnessed the results of a false morality adopted by a nation and followed on a national scale; and on the other hand, we as a nation are facing problems and responsibilities which loudly call upon us to determine what it is right for a nation to do. On the great road that nations travel, is our course to be upward to nobler life and greater usefulness, or downward to the vices that, invading a nation's life, enfeeble and destroy it?

Facing this situation, what would it involve for us to avow it as our aim to make the United States a missionary nation? We have pointed out above some things that it would not involve, such as a spirit of conquest or a propaganda undertaken by the nation on behalf of any type of organized religion. Let us now try to answer it positively, and first in general terms.

The United States would be a missionary nation if, as a people, we were pervaded by the desire that other nations should enjoy all the things which our experience has taught us to believe are the real goods of life, in such form and measure as would contribute to their highest welfare. If we had this spirit we should recognize that in the expression of this spirit there are some things which we can do as individuals, and only as individuals or as small voluntary groups; certain others that we can do as large groups, such as Christian denominations, or as undenominational but Christian or philanthropic societies; and still other things which we must do, or refrain from doing, as a nation and through our government.

If, then, we are a missionary nation, individual missionaries will be going out from us to other lands. For there will be a multitude of young men and women among us whose altruistic good-will will extend not only to their neighbors and fellow-Americans, but to other nations. Realizing how rapidly the world is becoming one, and all nations, being made of one blood and having common needs and common aspirations, are being bound together into one community, they will desire to be the bearers of Christianity's message and the witnesses of America's experience to the lands across the seas. They will not all hold the same opinions and they will not all do the same work. Some will be evangelists, some teachers, some physicians, some scientists and engineers. But in so far

as they are the representatives of the nation's missionary spirit they will be moved by the spirit of good will. They will go, not to exploit the nation to which they go, but to contribute to its welfare and to the creation of a spirit of mutual friendliness that shall encircle the earth. If they are intelligent they will not go with a spirit of condescending superiority or with a zeal for conquest, but will recognize that, as Mazzini says, "Every people has its special mission, which will co-operate toward the fulfilment of the general mission of humanity." They will seek to discover that mission; to learn from it what they can; and not to defeat it, but to help toward its fulfilment.

If we are a missionary nation there will be certain to be among us many individuals who, unable themselves to take up their residence abroad or constrained by conscience not to do so, yet, being deeply desirous of making their contribution to the world's welfare and to the permeation of the world by those great principles which Jesus taught and exemplified, will unite to do as groups the things that they cannot do as individuals. Doubtless these groups will grow larger and larger, not only because they will add individuals to their number, but because the several societies, perceiving the identity of their purpose and the advantages of unity of effort, will coordinate their plans and combine their efforts. This process we are now witnessing. Denominational societies, having learned by experience the advantages of united effort on the field, are now discovering the great advantages of co-operation at home. This very process is tending to make us, to an extent scarcely dreamed of a generation ago, a missionary *nation*. The missionary enterprise has a standing in the nation, and a hold upon the thought and conscience of the nation, surpassing that of a decade ago. In ways we did not an-

ticipate or dare to hope for we are becoming a missionary *nation.*

But can we, strictly as a nation, as a political entity, have any part in this success? By abstinence from certain courses of action which have been common among nations we certainly can. There is no obstacle in morals or the Constitution or international law or sound political science to our rigorously refusing to share in any act of injustice to another nation. We can be scrupulous, with the scrupulousness of a sensitive conscience, in no way to invade the right or harm the life of another people. And this itself would have missionary value. Such a course of action is necessarily the expression of a national conscience. Being so, it will ultimately be recognized as such alike by the nation directly affected by the action and by others who only look on. It can but contribute powerfully to bring international injustice to an end.

But there is more than this that we can do and ought to do. The truth is, there is no middle ground between national selfishness and national good will. The middle point of indifference is a point of unstable equilibrium impossible to maintain. Justice has no secure foundation except in good will, and if there is good will, it will find for itself positive expression. Recent years have witnessed wonderful progress in this kind of positive, altruistic action. Our theories, perhaps, would have said that in times of disaster abroad individuals and groups might contribute to the relief of suffering, but that money raised by taxation could not be appropriated for such purposes. Yet again and again Congress has made such appropriations without protest from the people.

But the fundamental question is whether we recognize that a nation can not only abstain from injustice, but, being a member of the great family of nations, can also live as a member of the family, seeking the highest welfare of its own

people in the highest welfare of the world. How we shall do this is an important question—a question for statesmen and political scientists to study and help us to solve. If we must find justification for such a course, it is amply justified in the evidence of history that national selfishness leads to the destruction of the nation. It is true of nations as of men that he that saveth his life shall lose it.

We have been moving, not steadily, perhaps not rapidly, but on the whole moving, toward the recognition of the fact that while a nation cannot act exactly as an individual acts, because it is not an individual, it yet can act, and for its own sake and the world's sake must act, on the principle of the Golden Rule. In this time of reaction, after action, many are lifting up their voices against such a principle who in the storm and stress of war were silent or spoke on the other side. It is time for men of clearer vision to stand firm in its defense, cautious no doubt in the application of it, lest it be discredited by misapplication, but unshakably firm in defense of the principle and in effort for the gradual conformity of our national action to it.

But possibly under all the circumstances the most effective expression of the missionary spirit which we could make at this time would be in the application of it to our own industrial and social problems. That it has such application is as certain as that such problems exist. The same principle that ought to rule between nations ought also to rule between the classes of a nation. To deal justly and fairly with one another, to apply the Golden Rule to the problems of employer and employee, of laborer and capitalist, to the relations of colored and white, of new Americans and old Americans, would not only be in itself a great achievement, but would be of immense advantage to us in our relations with other nations. It is a strange paradox that our record of relations to

other peoples is much brighter than that of our dealings with one another.

It is the destiny of the missionary spirit as that spirit was exemplified in Jesus Christ and as it finds expression today in the most intelligent and Christlike of his followers, to permeate all society and to control the relations of all groups of people to one another. The loud call of divine providence to the United States—but not to her alone—is to become a missionary nation. The adoption of the missionary spirit is America's only hope for future greatness and for the fulfilment of her destiny.

XV

AMERICA AND THE MAKERS OF THE NEW CHINA[15]

THE GLADIATORS of ancient Rome, issuing forth from their subterranean cells to engage in mortal combat for the amusement of the Roman populace, were required to salute those for whose amusement they were about to shed their blood in the words, *Morituri Salutamus,* "We who are about to die salute you." When I confront an audience of Chinese students I am always moved to address them in words very different in sense from these which I have just quoted, but yet suggested to my mind by them. As the representative of a western nation addressing you who have come from the new China, my salutation shall be *Victuros Salutamus,* "You who are about to live we salute." For I am profoundly impressed with the fact that the nation which you represent is entering upon a new era in its history, and that it belongs to you to take an important part in making that new era greater and more splendid than any that have preceded it. You young men—in a peculiar sense it is true of you —are about to live; you we salute.

Of the importance of this hour in Chinese history I need not speak in detail; you know it even better than I. Your presence in this country, seeking to learn what western lands have to teach, is a testimony to the fact that you have a keen sense of the significance of this hour in your country's history. What I wish to do is to emphasize, if I may, what this hour means to you in terms of opportunity and responsibility.

[15] An address delivered before a Chinese students' conference, Evanston, Illinois, August 26, 1910.

You are not the only members of your nation who are coming into contact with the West, but you have especial opportunities of being interpreters of the West to the East, the medium of communication between Occident and Orient. You are tarrying for a few years in our country. What are you going to take back to China? Not all that is western is good. Unless you have some standard of value you may return to China to do her more harm than good by reason of your sojourn in America. I wish, therefore, to urge upon you while you remain in this country the maintenance of a discriminative attitude of mind: the cultivation of the habit not only of observing, but also of valuing and estimating that which you observe.

Such a discriminative attitude of mind will lead you to recognize, as I have no doubt many of you already recognize, that there are many things in Chinese life that ought to be conserved and carried over, undiminished and unabated, into the new period of her history. Among the things that I trust will thus be conserved is the habitual courtesy of your people. A westerner who travels in China many months is often reminded that there is the barbaric blood of the Saxons and the Angles still in his veins. I must confess to you that almost throughout the whole period of my stay in China I found it necessary to exercise constant diligence to attain to that height of politeness and courtesy which the customs of your country, and the habits of your people, demand.

Another thing which I hope is not to be destroyed in the incoming of the new era is the simplicity of life which prevails in most parts of China. This simplicity is indeed carried, in many cases and of necessity, to an extreme. Life is so simple in some parts of China that it lacks many of the things which make life really worth living. But on the other hand I should count it a real misfortune if you should return

to China with the impression that our western luxuries and complicated ways of life are the things which your country needs to acquire from the West. Clean streets, good school buildings, art galleries, parks—these features of western civilization I trust may soon be as common in China as in America, because all these make for the common good rather than for the advantage of the few at the cost of the poverty of the many. But yachts, expensive automobiles, private cars, and enormously costly houses—these are not the secrets of the elements of America's greatness. They are tokens, in a sense, of her prosperity, but are not prosperity itself.

Again, I would not have China lose a reverence for the past. That such reverence has been excessive, that it has served in some cases to mar the present and rob the future, I do not doubt. But no nation has ever prospered that has not maintained its connection with its own past. Traveling on one of our railroad trains some years ago, I fell into conversation with a man who summed up his philosophy of life something like this: I hate everything old. This is not America's spirit, but there is something of it in America, and I would not have you suppose, if you should come in contact with it, that this is a good which you may carry back to China. Conserve not in excess, but in due share, the reverence for the past which has been characteristic of the Chinese nation.

And lastly, let me express the wish that China will not lose or lower her high standards of commercial honesty. You will be told in this country that many of our richest men have gained their wealth in ways that are not above suspicion of dishonesty, or trickery, and oppression. But it is not this that has made America great. She has acquired such greatness as she has in spite of these things; not because of them. We look with admiration at the high standards of commercial

honesty which China has for centuries maintained. May those standards never be lower.

But the discriminative attitude such as I have advised will also lead you to recognize that there are some things in the life of the West to be avoided. I have already hinted at some of these. Beware of our emphasis on material prosperity. Not luxury, not extravagance, but old-fashioned frugality, coupled with a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the community, makes a nation strong. Beware of our sensationalism, our love of excitement, our demand for the startling, whether it be true or not. If you read our newspapers, read them discriminatingly—discriminating, I mean, not only between the false and true, but especially between the false ideals and the true. And if you carry back to China ideals gained from America, let them be the ideals that are represented only in our best newspapers; not in our worst.

And again, beware of our intolerance. China has ever been tolerant toward differences of opinion. Her history has not, indeed, been unstained by records of mob violence, but as a nation her disposition has been in the field of thought; to live and let live; to think and to let others think. The Saxon, and indeed the Latin, is hotter blooded. Only slowly have we learned that truth wins its victories, not by the sword, but by the slow process of mutual enlightenment. I trust you will carry back to China convictions which you hold so strongly and intensely that you will be willing to die for them, but will return with none of our western disposition to make others die for disagreeing with us.

But while I point thus to admirable things in China's life which I hope China will conserve, and things in the life of the West which are to be avoided, may I turn your attention also to certain things which I believe you may wisely learn in the West and carry with you to China.

First among these I would mention the scientific spirit. By the scientific spirit I mean that openness of mind toward facts, and that confidence that the guiding truths of life in every sphere can be learned from facts, which constrain us not only at length and reluctantly to accept the things which are forced upon us, but ever eagerly to seek for fact and truth. This spirit is a necessary complement to that spirit of reverence for the wisdom of the past which has been so characteristic of China. I have already indicated that I trust China will not lose her reverence for the past. Let me now say with equal emphasis that it seems to me indispensable to the realization of China's present hopes and the achievement of greatness in the future that to her reverence of the past she shall add a not less ardent scientific spirit. Our Scriptures have given to us, among the Ten Commandments, this: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." Modern science has added to this a new command: *Thou shalt not lie to thyself*. For this it is that the scientific spirit demands that, whether we study physics, or chemistry, or biology, or economics, or politics, or morals, or religion, we shall not lie to ourselves, but shall with open eyes face the facts, accept the facts, and conform our conduct to them. Science will be of great economic value to China. She will open your mines; she will build your railroads; she will clean your streets; she will reform your monetary system. But greater than any of these things will be the spirit which is at the heart of science: that openness to truth, from whatever source it come, and that scrutiny of everything that claims to be truth, which recognizes that whatever the voices of the past are, supreme allegiance must be to the truths the facts disclose.

A second element of the life of the West which I am persuaded you may well take back to the East is the spirit of

altruism, the spirit of service. It may not seem to you that this is the spirit of the West. And I must admit that it is not characteristic of the whole of the West. But it is the spirit of the best of the West, and it is only the best of the West that I would have you absorb and carry back with you to China. This is the spirit that has found expression in the thousands of institutions that have been created in occidental lands for the alleviation of suffering, for the refinement of life and the enlargement of its horizon, for the improvement of the human race. If you look only at our grain elevators and our stockyards, at our banks and our trust companies, at our railroads and steamships, you may think that the West is utterly and grossly sordid. But he whom we reverence as the founder of our religion, and who is in reality the greatest force in our civilization, declared that he came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. And if you look below the surface of our occidental life, if you ask whence came these social settlements, you will discover that even in the most sordid and commercial of our cities there is a strong undercurrent of unselfish devotion to the welfare of the whole people. And if you inquire a little you will find that this spirit exists in no one class of the people. You will discover it in the very poor and in many who, though they may have chosen to remain poor that they might live according to this spirit, are profoundly happy in so living. But you will find it also in the rich, many of whom are giving their lives and their money to the promotion of human welfare; and you will find it also in every class between these extremes. You will find it in the highly educated, but also in those whose opportunities of education have been very limited. This is the spirit that I should like to have you catch and carry home with you. Are you going back to China to make the education you have acquired simply a means by which you may gain things for

yourselves? If you are, you will have missed the best that this country could teach you, and it would be well for your country that you should never return to it. But if you go back to ask "How can I render the largest service to my country? How can I use in the service of my countrymen what I have gained?" you will be one of the forces that will contribute to making the new era of China's history what I profoundly hope it is to be: better than any that have preceded it; the best of all ages. To the new commandment of science may your contact with the West and its Christianity add also this: *Thou shalt not live to thyself.*

And finally, I commend to you as an element of the life of the West which you may well carry back with you to the East, this: a far-sighted concern for the future. In his book, *Principles of Western Civilization,* Benjamin Kidd maintains that the future belongs to the nations that are willing to live for the future rather than for the present; for posterity rather than for the living generation; and even to sacrifice the present for the sake of the future. This, he maintains, is the spirit that is already working powerfully in western civilization, and is destined to be more and more powerful.

This is, of course, simply the altruistic spirit carried to its fullest development. It is much to be willing to devote yourself to the welfare of your contemporaries, to find satisfaction, not in your own personal prosperity and well-being, but in that of your generation. But it is more to be willing to live for results that cannot be achieved while you live; and it is still more for a whole generation to live for the generations that are to come, deliberately foregoing something of that which it might achieve for itself in order that those who come after it, and will constitute the nation when all men now living have fallen asleep, shall enter into a richer inheritance than the present enjoys. Yet this is the spirit that makes

nations great and that must henceforth animate those nations that would, in the persons of their posterity, inherit the earth. The struggle of many centuries has been, in no small part, to emancipate the present from undue subjection to the past; to acquire the right to build upon the achievements of the past, and not be bound by its limitations. But a new day dawns for all the nations, and the keynote of that new day is not freedom from the domination of the past, but voluntary sacrifice of present good for the sake of the future.

For myself I have largely lost interest in those things of which I can hope to see the realization in my lifetime. The things most worth living for are too great to be achieved in the years that I shall live. You are younger than I by twenty or thirty years. But this is but a brief period. For you also the principle must hold. If you would help China to become great, you must be willing to live for her future. While you seek to serve your own generation and to meet with all possible promptness the needs of this hour, yet build also for the future, even, if necessary, at the sacrifice of the present. And so to the two new commandments already given I would add a third, in which both our religion and our social philosophy unite: *Thou shalt not live for the present only.*

Young men and young women of China, we are glad to see you here in our country. But we know that you have come to make but a brief stay and then to return and throw your lives into the new life of China. Take with you only the best things that you find in our life, and, returning to your country, give your lives in resolute unselfishness to the welfare of your country and the creation for her of a glorious future. Live not for yourselves, but for China; not for the present, but for the future.

XVI

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CHINA[16]

I FEEL some hesitation in speaking to you today, for although the subject under discussion is one in which I share your profound interest and to which I have in the past given considerable study, I have not, for many months, been able to give to it the attention which many of you have given it. Since returning from China I have undertaken another task which consumes twenty-four hours of the day, seven days in the week, and the fragments of time which are left do not give me much opportunity to study the situation in China. Yet so deep and continuous is my interest in it that I have felt unable to refuse the request that I say a few words, at least, in regard to this situation in which I am so greatly interested and the issues of which are of such great importance.

[16] On April 6, 1925, a Conference on Christian Education in China was held in New York City, under the joint auspices of the International Missionary Council and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. The Conference was called because of the serious and widespread opposition to Christian education on the part of many Chinese, which was creating a situation calling for the most thoughtful consideration of the criticisms made, and the most earnest efforts to see clearly and plan wisely for the future. President Burton, because of his long study of the educational situation in China and his chairmanship of the educational commission sent to China in 1921 by the mission boards and societies conducting work in China, was asked to attend this conference. The following statement, taken from the printed report of the Conference, is an extemporaneous speech which he made in the course of the discussion. It is of interest both because it states very clearly what he believed should be the purpose and spirit of Christian education on the mission field and also because it is his last utterance on a subject which was of deep and life-long interest to him.

The first thing I want to emphasize is that we must face the present situation wholly without prejudice. We who are engaged in this great missionary enterprise must be ready to learn from our past experiences; from our mistakes as well as from our achievements. We must believe that the Lord leads us on. We have a present situation to face, and that situation calls for a careful consideration of the facts, unprejudiced by the practices of the past or by the findings or recommendations of any reports which have been made in the past. Practices and findings may have been right three years ago and wrong today. We must face the situation anew without prejudice.

In particular I hope that all of us have foresworn, or are now ready to foreswear, whatever prejudices we may ever have had against Oriental races, or in favor of Western civilization. None of us who have really known China and the Chinese can have retained such prejudices, if we ever had them.

My next suggestion is that we ought to try once more to define the purpose of Christian education in China: to say clearly why we are undertaking to develop educational work in China. I hope that I may not seem harsh if I confess that I have never heard the purpose of Christian education in mission countries discussed without disappointment. I have been disappointed because so little attention has been paid to finding the answer to this question, and disappointed because there has seemed to be so little clear thinking in regard to it. Is this because there is disagreement in our thinking on this question, which we do not want to bring to the light? Surely it is not because we have not given thought to it. And surely it is not because we do not have convictions in regard to it. Ought we not to share our thinking and voice our convictions and come to some common agreement? I do not

mean that we shall try to compromise or give up our convictions, but that we shall together find out what our present difficulties are, try to solve some of them, and find a platform of purpose on which we can stand together.

That which seems to me absolutely fundamental in reference to this matter, and essential to recognize, is that Christian education, like any other Christian activity, is primarily an expression of the Christian spirit. The most effective way of carrying the Christian message to any people is to take to them the spirit of Jesus Christ. I believe that it would be possible to Christianize a people by living the Christian life in their midst—even if no other means of bringing Christianity to them were available—and that no other means can be effective without such living. That which is fundamental in Christian missionary education is, therefore, that it should be an expression of the spirit of Jesus Christ.

Applied to China and to Christian education there, this means that the fundamental purpose of Christian education in China is to make the largest possible contribution to the welfare of China. That, of course, demands that we understand China; that we consider what is involved in her welfare and define it broadly and inclusively. It is not a true expression of the Christian spirit to see one's brother go hungry, or naked, and do nothing about it. For the religion of Christ does not consist solely in the acceptance of any religious belief or the adoption of any religious principle, but in the application of the Christian spirit to the whole of life.

My next suggestion is that the *specific* purpose of Christian education in any land depends upon the conditions in that land. I have seen Christian schools in another country fulfilling a specific purpose which seemed to me an entirely right one for them, but which would not seem to me to be at all the right purpose for a Christian school in China. The

conditions in the two countries are so different that the specific task must of necessity be a different one. In view of conditions as they are in China, I am convinced that the specific purpose of Christian education there today ought to be the development of a strong Christian community. I believe that we have reached the stage in our educational work in China where this should be the primary purpose. But this purpose includes a number of things. It includes the winning of non-Christians to the acceptance of Jesus Christ as their Lord and Master. It includes the building up of an intelligent Christian laity, of men and women able to follow the leadership of strong Christian leaders. It includes the development and training of such leaders. It involves also the creation in all Christians of the spirit of social service which shall express itself in the community and shall permeate the community. I am convinced that if we put our emphasis upon the development in the midst of China of such a Christian community, animated by the Christian spirit, organized into, or around, a Christian church, we shall be more able to see the goal of all our efforts clearly and to co-ordinate them all wisely than will be the case if our emphasis is placed upon any of the more incidental aims included in this larger purpose.

But we must not forget that this purpose is itself a means to an end. We must not lose sight of the fact that our fundamental purpose is to make the largest possible contribution to China's welfare; and we must be ready to make any adjustments of policy or practice which may at any time be necessary in order to enable us to achieve this end.

One more thing I wish were possible, namely, that, clearly defining the purpose of Christian education, we should also make it clear to the Chinese what we mean by Christianity itself. Many of them do not now understand. Many of them have gained from us a misconception of what it is.

I wish that we might all have such a clear conception of what is really vital to Christianity that all our differences and difficulties might sink into the insignificance that really belongs to them; that the spirit of God might so take possession of our hearts that we might, in all we do and say, make clear to our Chinese friends what the spirit and Gospel of Jesus Christ really are. Is this too much to hope for? Can we ever do our real work in China until it is attained?

So much, then for the things which seem to me to be fundamental to our consideration of this situation. May I make a few practical suggestions?

In the first place, let us act without unnecessary delay. Perhaps we have talked long enough. Perhaps we had now better come to a decision. Would it not be better to reach a decision that is only 90 per cent right, and act on it, and think about the other 10 per cent later, than to delay action longer? I suspect that we have already delayed too long, and have allowed obstacles to stand in the way of decision. Has not the time come for some rapid thinking that shall bring us to decisions and forward steps? Let us be willing to take some risk, since any risk that we may take is better than drifting and delay. Let us dare to put the leadership of our educational task into the hands of the Chinese. They may bungle it for awhile. Very well. Better let them bungle it than keep it in our own hands, for it will *always* be bungled as long as we keep control of it.

Let us remember, as has been said so often today, that control by the Chinese—complete control—is the goal of our efforts; that we are not in China to maintain a Christian movement which is essentially foreign. We are there to make ourselves dispensable as soon as possible. The characteristic of the foreign missionary movement is that it becomes successful by putting itself out of business. The Christian move-

ment in mission fields must of course begin with the foreigner. He is at first all there is; then he becomes fellow-worker with his converts; then helper and adviser; and finally he makes himself unnecessary. I suspect that if we could make our Chinese friends see that we recognize this, a good deal of their suspicion of us might be removed.

After all, China belongs to the Chinese. Somewhere in the dim dark ages I seem to remember having heard people speak of the "rights" of the Christian religion; as if we had a right to trample upon the national rights of other nations. This is much as if, in some American community, we were to claim that a Christian church, needing a place to preach, therefore had the right to lay hands upon a piece of ground on which to erect a building for the carrying out of its work, regardless of the rights of those to whom the land belonged. We of the Christian church in America have no right to violate the civil rights of our fellow-citizens; nor have we the right to violate the rights of the Chinese in China. After all, China belongs to the Chinese. It is no part of our mission, as Christians, to violate the very spirit of Christianity by disregarding the rights of other nations.

Shall Christian schools make attendance at Bible classes and religious services compulsory? This does not seem to me an essential part of our Christian education in China. The *quality* of our education in Christianity is far more important than that it be compulsory. If it is not compulsory, it must compete, on the same level, with other subjects. If its quality is high we should not fear such competition. I hesitate to say it, yet—if I am to believe the testimony of those who have been in immediate contact with the situation—it has sometimes been true in our mission schools that Christianity has been less effectively taught than any other subject in the curriculum. Is that a tolerable situation? Suppose we reverse

the situation? Cease to make attendance at classes in Christianity compulsory, but make those classes second to none in the quality of the work offered and the ability of the teaching given, and what will be the result? Will students be more likely to be won to Christianity by being required to attend instruction of poor quality, or by being given the privilege of attending classes which are of the highest caliber of any work offered in the school? Do away with compulsion and substitute high quality, and I do not fear the results.

Finally, I believe that we ought to be ready to make any adjustment whatever in order to achieve the fundamental purpose for which we are maintaining Christian education in China. I hope the time will never come when we shall have to face the question of conducting schools in which no religion can be taught. But if we should have to face that question, what would be our answer? My answer would be that I would *stay in China;* that I would stay and seek to express the Christian spirit by giving the most helpful service I could render to the Chinese, even if they refused to let me give them in words what they can not and will not refuse me the opportunity of expressing in life. I would seek to bear testimony through a Christian life even though I were bound not to bear testimony through the Christian word. We must indeed not offer education that is not Christian. But we can make our education Christian by the spirit in which we conduct it, even if we are forbidden to give any direct Christian teaching. I therefore plead that we be ready to make any adjustments which may seem necessary, in order that we may continue to be able to make our contribution—as large a contribution as possible—to the welfare of China.

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INDEX

INDEX

Abraham, God's covenant with, 22
Altruism, 174
America, discovery of, 71; and makers of new China, 169
Antioch, 67
Apocalypse, sources of, 102
Aristotle, type of mind of, 14
Arnold, Matthew, 93
Authority, religious, 58

Baptism, 61; of Galatians, 65; of Jesus, 33
Bibliography, 185
Biology, relation to New Testament study, 131

Ceremonies, 57; as obstacles, 61
China, Missions in, 177; new, makers of, 169; purpose of Christian education in, 177; unification of Christian forces in, 61
Christian influences, 3
Christianity, birth of, 71; challenge to American, 151; emphasis on achievement, 104; new type of, 101
Church, the, 5, 26; attitude toward theological schools, 107; custodian of missionary spirit, 155; duty of, 156; great central task of, 158; organization to be modified, 62; supreme need of, 59; tolerance in, 57; troublemakers in early Christian, 63
Cilicia, 66
Circumcision, Christ's teaching concerning, 17; commanded in Scripture, 66; of Galatians, 68; of Gentiles, 54, 67; Paul's teaching concerning, 40; of Titus, 65; when, must cease, 56
Corinth, 63

Denominations, 62; relationships of, 153; united effort of, 165
Divorce, teaching of Jesus concerning, 18

Education, Christian, in China, 177; product of individual effort, 125; purpose of, 179
Efficiency, test of, 114
Emerson, type of mind of, 14
Epistles, Paul's, 80
Evolution, 60

Faith, allies soul with Christ, 45; central element of Old Testament religion, 53; defined, 42; working through love, 44
Fasting, 17
Fellowship with God a mystery, 7
Foch, 153
Forgiveness, 36
Future, concern for, 175

Galatia, missionaries sent to, 68; troublemakers in, 63
Galatians, Epistle to, 39; religion of, 40
Genesis, 102
Gentiles, 54, 65
Geology and Genesis, 102
Gethsemane, 31, 35
Gnosticism, 79
God, Kingdom of, Christ's conception of, 13
Gospels, Synoptic, 86; representation of Jesus in, 87

Hall, Charles Cuthbert, 107
History, New Testament study for purposes of, 129
Holy Spirit, 65
Honesty, commercial, in China, 171

Immortality of soul, 22
Intervention demanded by Golden Rule, 148
Intolerance, 172
Israelites, wilderness experiences of, 21

Jerusalem, 63; conference at, 67
Jesus, characterized, 23; character stamped on Christianity, 4; compared with Paul, 72, 93; conception of God, 81; leadership, 88; Messiahship, 90; religion of, 27; speech of, 14; a thinker, 11
John the Baptist, anticipates Paul, 72; baptizes Jesus, 33
John, Gospel of, prologue, 79; belief concerning person of Christ, 85; necessary stage in Christian thinking, 97
Justification, doctrine of, 39

Kingdom of God, Jesus' conception of, 13

Law, 47; futility of, 64; more an ideal than an obligation, 53
Legalism, character produced by, 134; doctrine of, 41; elements of strength, 46; opposed by Paul, 57, 63, 82
Liberty, intellectual, 5
Life, after death, 77; Chinese, things to be conserved in, 170; spiritual, supreme need of church, 59
Logos, 79, 87
Love, defined, 45

Marriage, Jesus' teaching concerning, 17, 24
Mazzini, 161
Mind, types of, 14, 122
Ministry, need for educated, 121; power of leadership, 127
Missions, motive of, 145; must be without prejudice, 178
Missionary, work of, 121, 153
Monotheism, 78
Morality, dependent on religion, 105; how attained, 55; of Jesus, 35
Moses, 21
Mysticism, 105

Pastorate, varied needs of, 121
Paul, characterized, 5, 51, 68, 69, 91, 94, 96; compared with Jesus, 72; conception of Christian life, 46; conception of Jesus, 91; doctrine of justification, 39; persecution of Christians, 66; rejection of legalism, 55, 63, 68, 82; relation to Jesus, 93; treatment of Peter, 54
Paul, Epistles of, 80, 84
Paulinism, implications of, 51
Pentateuch, sources of, 102
Pentecost, 65
Pershing, 153
Peter, at Antioch, 54; characterized, 72; in prison, 131
Pharisee, Paul so reared, 63
Pharisaism, Jesus' attitude toward, 18
Philo, 132
Polytheism, 78
Prayer, taught by Jesus, 36
Preacher, value of New Testament study to, 135
Principles, moral, 163
Problems, of Jesus, 136; of Paul, 136
Progress, fundamental idea of Christianity, 60
Prosperity, material, 171
Psalms, sources of, 102

Reconciliation, gospel of, 76
Religion, of Christ, spiritual, 56; personal equation in, 95; universal, possible, 153
Responsibility, personal, 59
Resurrection, denied by Sadducees, 23
Ritualism, 55, 56; surrendered, 61
Rule, Golden, application of, 140, 142, 144; consequences of disregard, 149; demands of, 145, 147, 167; only salvation of world, 149

Sabbath, Jesus' teaching concerning, 17, 24, 76; observance of by non-Jewish Christians, 53; Paul's teaching concerning, 64
Sadducees, denial of resurrection, 21; Jesus' answer to, 21; Jesus' attitude toward, 16
Salvation, 63
Schools, theological, characteristics of, 117; how controlled, 107; teachings of, 108; test of, 113

Science, 6; and mysticism, 105
Self-government, right of, 148
Service, spirit of, 173
Socrates, 14
Soul, immortality of, 21
Spencer, Herbert, 93
Spirit, missionary, 155, 161, 167; scientific, 105
Syria, 66

Temptation of Jesus, 29, 30
Testament, New, apocalyptic theories, 103; benefit from study of, 129; four uses of, today, 129; origin of, 137
Testament, Old, authority over Christian conscience, 56; Jesus' attitude toward, 16; historical errors, 102; things forbidden by, 55
Theological Schools. *See* Schools
Theology, teaching of, defined, 107; use of New Testament for purposes of, 132
Tolerance, 57
Traditionalism, Jesus' attitude toward, 16, 23
Truth, supremacy of, 5

Union, 153
United States, 146; a missionary nation, 161

Yahweh, 78

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